THE PARADISE OF DAINTY DEVICES

Mary Clem Barnett

December 1944

THE PARADISE OF DAINTY DEVICES

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THE PARADISE of Dainty Devices

(1576-1606)

EDITED BY

HYDER EDWARD ROLLINS

CAMBRIDGE

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

1927

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To

THE BEAUTIFUL MEMORY OF MY SISTER

E. M. R.

(1891–1915)

"She was a little miracle while she lived,
and so she died."

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INTRODUCTION

THE *Paradise of Dainty Devices*, the most popular miscellany printed during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, first appeared in 1576, and by 1606 had reached at least a tenth edition. Copies of nine of these editions are extant; all copies of the 1577 edition seem to have been lost.

Compiled by Richard Edwards, a distinguished lyricist and playwright, sometime before his death on October 31, 1566, the *Paradise* was perhaps inspired by the collections of "songs and sonnets" now known as Tottel's *Miscellany* (1557) and *A Handful of Pleasant Delights* (1566, 1584). But the custom of compiling manuscripts of lyrics — poetical commonplace-books, as it were — began long before Edwards and continued long after 1566. Edwards may have made his collection solely for his own satisfaction, with no thought at all of publication. When the manuscript fell into the hands of Henry Disle, however, that enterprising publisher was astute enough to see its commercial value and to rush it into print. Before doing so, he may possibly have added several poems: in later editions poems were added or subtracted, evidently at the caprice of the printers.

In the course of its ten editions the *Paradise* published one hundred twenty-five poems; two of these[1] were so enlarged after the first edition as to be practically new, a fact which explains the apparent total of one hundred twenty-seven reproduced in the present volume. In addition to the anonymous authors — among whom various professional ballad-writers must have been included — the total number of contributors was about twenty-nine. No exact statement is feasible, since there is a distinct probability that M. D. and R. D., for example, or M. S. and D. S., are the same author; while in two editions the initials W. R. seem to have been added to a poem by a mere typographical error. In round numbers, there are one hundred twenty-five poems written by thirty poets.

No critical edition of the *Paradise* has heretofore been made. The present edition, based upon nine of the ten Elizabethan editions, is the only one in existence which reprints every line of these nine and enumerates every change. It is, furthermore, the only edition with a critical apparatus of introduction, collations, notes, and glossary.

[1] Nos. 23, 72 (= 101, 109).

I. ELIZABETHAN EDITIONS OF THE *PARADISE*

Of the ten Elizabethan editions of the *Paradise*, nine are described below from personal study and one is described at second hand. The changes in the nine editions are so difficult to keep in mind that, for the convenience of students, I have provided a "Table of the Variations in Contents and Authorship of the *Paradise*, 1576–1606," which is inserted between pages xiv and xv. It should be borne in mind that the lost 1577 edition (*X*) was almost certainly identical with the edition of 1578 (*B*). The letters *A* to *I* are used throughout this book in referring to the original extant editions.

A. The Paradyse/of daynty deuises,/aptly furnished, with sundry pithie and learned inuentions:/deuised and written for the most part, by M. Edwards,/sometimes of her Maiesties Chappel: the rest, by/sundry learned Gentlemen, both of honor,/and woorshippe./viz./S. Barnarde. Iasper Heyvvood./E. O. F. K./L. Vaux. M. Bevve./D. S. R. Hill./M. Yloop, vvith others./[Device.[1]]/Imprinted at Lon-/don by Henry Disle, dwellyng in/ Paules Churchyard, at the South west doore/of Saint Paules Church, and are there/to be solde./1576./

On the verso of the title-page appears the elaborate coat of arms of Lord Compton, and on the opposite page and its verso is the dedication to him (see pages 2–4, below).

The colophon, on signature $L4^v$, reads: "¶ Imprinted at London by Henry Disle, dwellyng at the/Southwest doore of S. Paules Churche./ 1576./"

Collation: 4^{to}, sigs. A^4, A (repeated)–L^4.

Two copies of *A* are known.[2] One, formerly in the possession of Colonel L. G. Phillipps of Dublin, was sold at Sotheby's on February 14, 1889 (lot 659), for £220, and is now in the J. P. Morgan Library of New York City. It lacks the second signature A_4. The other (the Farmer-Ellis-Heber copy) was sold at the Christie-Miller sale in December, 1919 (lot 70), for £1700, — as compared with the £16 it brought in Heber's sale (part iv) in 1834, — and is now in the Henry E. Huntington Library at San Marino, California. The Huntington copy is the text which I have reprinted.

A contains 99 poems, all of which are reprinted in my text, and 13 of which are omitted in subsequent editions (*B–I*). In the following list of

[1] See R. B. McKerrow, *Printers' & Publishers' Devices* (1913), device 172.

[2] A manuscript copy made by W. T. Rodd is now in the Library of Congress.

TABLE OF THE VARIATIONS IN CONTENTS AND AUTHORSHIP OF THE *PARADISE*, 1576–1606

No.	*A* (1576)	*B* (1578)	*C* (1580)	*D* (1585)	*E* (1590)	*F* (1596)	*G* (1596)	*H* (1600)	*I* (1606)
1	My Lucke is losse	My luke is losse	My lucke is losse	My lucke is losse	My luck is losse	My luck is losse	My luck is losse	My luck is losse	My luck is losse
2	My lucke is losse	My lucke is losse	My luck is losse	My lucke is losse	My lucke is losse	My lucke is losse	My lucke is losse	My lucke is losse	My lucke is losse
3	Yloop	M. Yloop	M. Yloop	M. Yloop	M. Yloop	M. Yloop	M. Yloop	M. Yloop	M. Yloop
4	E. S.	W. R.	W. R.	W. Hunis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis
5	D. S.	W. Hunis	W. Hunis	W. Hunis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis
6	[Anon.]	M. Edwardes	M. Edwardes	M. Edwardes	M. Edwards	M. Edwardes	M. Edwardes	M. Edwards	M. Edwardes
7	M. Edwardes	M. Edwardes	M. Edwardes	M. Edwardes	M. Edwards	M. Edwardes	M. Edwardes	M. Edwards	M. Edwardes
8	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux
9	F. K.	F. Kindlemarsh	F. Kindlemarsh	F. Kindlemarshe	F. Kindlemarsh	F. Kindlemarsh	F. Kindlemarsh	F. K.	F. K.
10	Iasper Heywood	Iasper Haywood	Jasper Haywood	Iasper Heiwood	Iesper Haywood	Iasper Haywood	Iasper Haywood	Iasper Haywood	Iasper Haywood
11	M. Kindlemarsh	F. K.	F. K.	F. Kindlemarsh	F. K.	F. K.	F. K.	F. K.	F. K.
12	Iasper Heywood	Iasper Heywood	Jasper Haywood	Iasper Heiwood	Iasper Haywood	Iesper Haywood	Iesper Haywood	Iesper Haywood	Iesper Haywood
13	F. K.	F. K.	F. K.	F. K.	F. K.	F. K.	F. K.	F. K.	F. K.
14	R. Hill	R. Hill	R. Hill	R. Hill	R. Hill	R. Hill	R. Hill	R. Hill	R. Hil
15	R. D.	R. D.	R. D.	R. D.	R. D.	R. D.	R. D.	R. D.	R. D.
16	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux
17	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux
18	F. K.	F. K.	F. K.	F. K.	F. K.	F. K.	F. K.	F. K.	F. K.
19	F. K.	F. K.	F. K.	F. Kindlemarsh	F. K.	F. K.	F. K.	F. K.	F. K.
20	M. T.	M. T.	M. T.	M. T.	M. T.	M. T.	M. T.	M. T.	M. T.
21	F. K.	F. K.	F. K.	F. Kindlemarsh	F. Kindlemarsh	F. Kindlemarsh	F. Kindlemarsh	F. Kindlemarsh	F. Kindlemarsh
22	D. S.	D. S.	D. S.	D. S.	D. S.	D. S.	D. S.	D. S.	D. S.
23	[Anon. = 101]	Tho. Churchyard	Tho. Churchyard	Tho. Churchyard	Tho. Churchyard	Tho. Churchyard	Tho. Churchyard	Tho. Churchyard	Tho. Churchyeard
24	M. Edwardes	M. Ewardes [*sic*]	M. Edwards	M. Edwardes	M. Edwards	M. Edwardes	M. Edwardes	M. Edwards	M. Edwardes
25	D. S.	D. S.	D. S.	D. S.	D. S.	D. S.	D. S.	D. S.	D. S.
26	M. D.	M. D.	M. D.	M. D.	M. D.	M. D.	M. D.	M. D.	M. D.
27	F. M.	F. M.	F. M.	F. M.	F. M.	F. M.	F. M.	F. M.	F. M.
28	F. G.	F. G.	F. G.	F. G.	F. G.	F. G.	F. G.	F. G.	F. G.
29	D. S.	D. S.	D. S.	D. S.	D. S.	D. S.	D. S.	D. S.	D. S.
30	E. O.	E. O.	E. O.	E. O.	E. O.	E. O.	E. O.	E. O.	E. O.
31	M. Edwardes	M. Edwardes	M. Edwards	M. Edwardes	M. Edwards	M. Edwards	M. Edwards	M. Edwards	M. Edwardes
32	M. Edwardes	M. Edwards	M. Edwards	M. Edwardes	M. Edwards	M. Edwardes	M. Edwardes	M. Edwards	M. Edwardes
33	M. Edwardes	M. Edwardes	M. Edwards	M. Edwardes	M. Edwardes	M. Edwardes	M. Edwardes	M. Edwards	M. Edwards
34	R. Hill	R. Hill	R. Hill	R. Hill	R. Hill	R. Hill	R. Hill	R. Hill	R. Hil
35	R. Hill	R. Hill	R. Hill	R. Hill	R. Hill	R. Hill	R. Hill	R. Hill	R. Hill
36	R. H.								
37	E. S.	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux
38	E. S.								
39	[Anon.]	T. Marshall							
40	F. K.	F. K.	F. K.	F. Kindlemarshe	F. Kindlemarsh	F. Kindlemarsh	F. Kindlemarsh	F. Kindlemarsh	F. Kindlemarsh
41	M. K.	F. K.	F. K.	F. K.	F. K.	F. K.	F. K.	F. K.	F. K.
42	[Anon.]	[Anon.]	[Anon.]	[Anon.]	[Anon.]	[Anon.]	[Anon.]	[Anon.]	[Anon.]
43	My Lucke is losse	My lucke is losse	My lucke is losse	My lucke is losse	My luck is losse	My lucke is losse	My lucke is losse	My luke is losse	My luke is losse
44	My Lucke is losse	My lucke is losse	My lucke is losse	My lucke is losse	My luck is losse	My luck is losse	My luck is losse	My lucke is losse	My lucke is losse
45	My lucke is losse	My lucke is losse	My lucke is losse	My lucke is losse	My lucke is losse	My luck is losse	My luck is losse	My lucke is losse	My lucke is losse
46	M. Edwardes	M. Edwardes	M. Edwards	M. Edwardes	M. Edwardes	M. Edwards	M. Edwards	M. Edwards	M. Edwards
47	D. S.	D. S.	D. S.	D. S.	D. S.	D. S.	D. S.	D. S.	D. S.
48	L. V.	W. Hunis	W. Hunis	W. H.	W. H.	W. H.	W. H.	W. H.	W. H.
49	M. B.								
50	E. S.	E. S.	E. S.	E. S.	E. S.	E. S.	E. [S.]	E. S.	E. S.
51	[Anon.]	M. Edwardes	M. Edwards	M. Edwardes	M. Edwardes	M. Edwardes	M. Edwardes	M. Edwards	M. Edwards
52	[Anon.]	M. Edwardes	M. Edwards	M. Edwardes	M. Edwardes	M. Edwardes	M. Edwardes	M. Edwards	M. Edwards
53	[Anon.]	M. Edwardes	M. Edwards	M. Edwardes	M. Edwardes	M. Edwardes	M. Edwardes	M. Edwards	M. Edwards
54	F. M.	M. E.	M. E.	M. Edwardes	M. Edwards	M. Edwardes	M. Edwardes	M. Edwards	M. Edwards
55	[Anon.]	[Anon.]	[Anon.]	[Anon.]	[Anon.]	[Anon.]	[Anon.]	[Anon.]	[Anon.]
56	M. Thorn	M. Thorn							
57	M. Edwards	[Anon.]	[Anon.]	[Anon.]	[Anon.]	[Anon.]	[Anon.]	[Anon.]	[Anon.]
58	M. Bew								
59	W. H.	M. Hunnis	M. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis
60	W. H.	M. Hunnis	M. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis
61	W. H.								
62	M. Edwards	M. Edwardes	M. Edwards	M. Edwardes	M. Edwardes	M. Edwards	M. Edwards	M. Edwards	M. Edwards
63	M. H.	M. Hunnis	M. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis [*sic*]

64	[Anon.]	M. Hunnis	M. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis
65	W. Hunis	M. Hunnis	M. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis
66	M. Edwards	M. Edwardes	M. Edwards	M. Edwardes	M. Edwardes	M. Edwardes	M. Edwardes	M. Edwards	M. Edwardes
67	M. B.	M. Hunnis	M. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis
68	Richard Hill								
69	M. Edwards	M. Edwardes	M. Edwardes	M. Edwardes	M. Edwards	M. Edwardes	[M. Edwardes?]	M. Edwards	M. Edwards
70	W. H.								
71	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	[L. Vaux?]	L. Vaux	L. Vaux
72	W. H.	W. H. [= 109]	W. H. [= 109]	W. H. [= 109]	W. H. [= 109]	W. H. [= 109]	[W. H.? = 109]	W. H. [= 109]	W. H. [= 109]
73	M. B.	M. Edwardes	M. Edwards	M. Edwardes	M. Edwardes	M. Edwards	M. Edwards	M. Edwards	M. Edwards
74	E. S.	E. S.	E. S.	E. S.	E. S.	E. S.	E. S.	E. S.	E. S.
75	F. K.	F. K.	F. K.	F. K.	F. K.	F. K.	F. K.	F. K.	F. K.
76	E. O.								
77	E. O.	E. O.	E. O.	E. O.	E. O.	E. O.	E. O.	E. O.	E. O.
78	[Anon.]								
79	R. H.	R. Hall	R. Hill	R. Hill	R. Hill	H. Hill	H. Hill	H. Hill	H. Hill
80	L. V.								
81	L. V.	L. Vaux							
82	M. B.	E. O.	E. O.	E. O.	E. O.	E. O.	E. O.	E. O.	E. O.
83	E. O.	E. O.	E. O.	E. O.	E. O.	E. O.	E. O.	L. O.	L. O.
84	E. O.	E. Ox.	E. Ox.	E. Ox.	E. O.	E. O.	E. O.	E. O.	E. O.
85	E. O.	E. Ox.	E. Ox.						
86	E. O.								
87	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux
88	L. V.	W. H.	W. H.	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	[Anon.]	[Anon.]
89	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux
90	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux
91	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux
92	L. V.								
93	R. L.	R. L.	R. L.	R. L.	R. L.	R. L.	R. L.	R. L.	R. L.
94	T. M.	W. H.	W. H.	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis
95	I. H.	I. Haiwood	I. Haywood	I. Haiwood	[I. Haiwood?]	J. Haywood	J. Haywood	I. Haywood	I. Haywood
96	Iasper Haywood	Iasper Heywood	J. Haywood	I. Haiwood	[I. Haiwood?]	I. Haywood	I. Haywood	I. Haywood	I. Haywood
97	R. H.								
98	F. K.	F. Kindlemarsh	F. Kindlemarshe	F. Kindlemarshe	[F. Kindlemarshe?]	[Earl of Essex]	[Earl of Essex]	[Earl of Essex]	[Earl of Essex]
99	Yloop	Yloop	Yloop	Yloop	[Yloop?]	Yloop	Yloop	Yloope	Yloope
100		Iasper Heywood	Iasper Heywood	Iasper Heiwood	Iasper Haywood	Iasper Haywood	Iasper Haywood	Iasper Haywood	Iasper Haywod
101	[= 23]	Tho. Churchyard	Tho. Churchyard	Tho. Churchyard	Tho. Churchyard	Tho. Churchyard	Tho. Churchyard	Tho. Churchyeard	Tho. Churchyeard
102		M. S.	M. S.	M. S.	M. S.	M. S.	M. S.	M. S.	M. S.
103		Lodowick LLoyd	Lodowick LLoyd	Lodowicke LLoyd	Lodowick LLoyd	Lodowick L. Loyd	Lodowick L. Loyd	Lodowicke Loyd	Lodowicke Loyd
104		M. Edwardes	M. Edwards	M. Edwardes	M. Edwardes	M. Edwardes	M. Edwardes	M. Edwards	M. Edwards
105		M. Hunnis	M. Hunnis	W. Hunis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunis	W. Hunnis
106		M. Hunnis	M. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis
107		W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	[W. Hunnis?]	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis
108		M. Hunnis	M. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	[W. Hunnis?]	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis
109	[= 72]	W.H., M. Edwardes	W. H., M. Edwards	W.H., M. Edwardes	W. H., M. Edwards	W. H., M. Edwards	[W.H.,M.Edwards?]	W. H., M. Edwards	W. H., M. Edwards
110		G. Whetstones							
111		W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis
112		W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis	W. Hunnis
113		L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux	L. Vaux
114			H. D.	H. D.	H. D.	H. D.	H. D.	H. D.	H. D.
115			Candish	Candishe	Candishe	Candishe	Candishe	Candishe	Candish
116			[Anon. "Troylus"]						
117			[Anon. "Cressida"]						
118			G. G.	G. Gask	[G. Gask?]	G. Gask	G. Gask	G. Gaske	G. Gaske
119			M. Edwardes						
120			Barnabe Ritche						
121				[Anon.]	[Anon.]	Ar. Bourcher	Ar. Bourcher	A. Bourcher	A. Bourcher
122				[Anon.]	[Anon.]	[Anon.]	[Anon.]	[Anon.]	[Anon.]
123				[Anon.]	[Anon.]	[Anon.]	[Anon.]	[Anon.]	[Anon.]
124				I. H.	[I. H.?]	J. H.	J. H.	I. H.	I. H.
125				[M. Edwardes]	[M. Edwardes?]	[M. Edwardes]	[M. Edwardes]	[M. Edwards]	[M. Edwardes]
126				I. Heiwood	[I. Heiwood?]	I. Haywood	I. Haywood	I. Haywood	I. Haywood
127				I. Heiwood	[I. Heiwood?]	I. Heywood	I. Heywood	I. Heywood	I. Haywood

these thirteen poems the initial numbers are those of my own, not of the original, edition; but the signature-letters are, of course, those of the original. For convenience of reference I have here, as in all similar cases, given the first line rather than the title, have modernized the spelling and the punctuation, and have added the name or the initials of the author:

36. We read what pains the powers divine. By R. H. D3–D3^{v}.
38. The hidden woes that swelleth in my heart. By E. S. D4.
49. I would to God I were Actæon, that Diana did disguise. By M. B. F3^{v}.
58. When sage Ulysses sailed by. By M. Bew. G4–G4^{v}.
61. When first mine eyes did view and mark thy beauty fair for to behold. By W. H. H–H^{v}.
68. The saint I serve and have besought full oft. By Richard Hill. H3^{v}.
70. What watch, what woe, what want, what wrack. By W. H. H4–H4^{v}.
76. The lively lark did stretch her wing. By E. O. I3–I3^{v}.
78. Lo here the man that must of love complain. Anon. I4.
80. What doom is this, I fain would know. By L. V. I4^{v}–K.
86. My meaning is to work what wonders love hath wrought. By E. O. K3^{v}.
92. Mistrust misdeems amiss, whereby displeasure grows. By L. V. L^{v}–L2.
97. In wretched state, alas, I rue my life. By R. H. L3^{v}–L4.

The remaining 86 poems reappear in *B*; 83 of them appear in *C* (Nos. 39, 56, and 81 being omitted); and 82 are included in all later editions, *D–I* (Nos. 39, 56, 81, and 85 being omitted). *A* includes also ten lines (page 43, line 5, and page 48, lines 4–12) that do not appear elsewhere.

Beginning with leaf 5 (marked A1), *A* has a number at the top of every page, and the numbers run consecutively except on the four leaves of signature E and the one leaf of signature G2, where they are confused. Forty-seven of the poems (Nos. 1–4, 49, 50, 58, 60–99) are not numbered; in twenty-six of them there are paragraph-signs instead. Six poems (Nos. 49, 50, 58, 65–67) are without titles, ten (Nos. 6, 23, 39, 42, 51–53, 55, 64, 78) without names of authors, eleven (Nos. 7, 39, 42, 46, 59–62, 65, 68, 69) without the usual "Finis," and four pages (viz., 7, 8, 13, 48) are without key-words. In *A* the key-word in only two cases (see pages 38, 40) includes the number, paragraph-mark, or other sign that may accompany

the word pointed to on the following page, whereas in the later editions such signs are uniformly retained with the key-words. Six key-words (see pages 29, 33, 60, 62, 66, 72) are incorrect, and three (pages 61, 79, 86) are in a wrong font of type.

Furthermore, exactly in the middle of *A*, at signature F (page 49, below), there is a curious change in typography. At this point the second half of the running headline drops abruptly into a smaller font, and the entire headline continues thus throughout the rest of the book, with the word *dayntie* henceforth spelled *daintie*. In addition, the page-numbers and the poem-numbers shift from roman type to italic of a still smaller size than that of the headlines; and in the last half of the book the type of the text itself appears, though less noticeably, to be of a different font from that of the first half. Fully half of the remaining initial-letters, too, expand from two-line to three-line size. Whatever the cause of this sharp change in the middle of *A*, it is interesting to observe that a similar one occurs just as abruptly in *B*, at signature H, but not in any edition later than *B*.

X. The Paradyse of dayntÿ deuises. Conteyning sundry pithy precepts, learned Counsels, and excellent inuentions, right pleasant and profitable for all estates. Deuised and written for the most part by M. Edwards, sometimes of her Majesties Chappell: the rest, by sundry learned gentlemen, both of honor and woorship, whose names hereafter folowe. [Device.] ¶ Jmprinted at London, by Henry Disle, dwellyng in Paules Churchyard, at the Southwest doore of Saint Paules Churche, and are there to be solde. 1577.

This title-page is given in William Herbert's edition of Ames's *Typographical Antiquities*, II (1786), 685, with the note that the book was "in the collection of Sir John Hawkins," the historian of music. Herbert had undoubtedly seen a copy of the 1577 edition, which is the only one he discussed. He did not know of the 1576 edition, though he did casually refer to that of 1578. Describing Hawkins's copy, he goes on to say:

On the next leaf [meaning the next page, the verso of the title-page] is the coat armour in 12 escutcheons, with crest, supporters and motto of the right honourable Sir Henry Compton, knight, Lord Compton of Compton, to whom the book is dedicated by H. D. the printer. Under this coat of arms are the names referred to in the title-page, viz. Saint Barnard; E. O; Lord Vaux, the elder; W. Hunis; Jasper Heywood; F. Kindlemarsh; D. Sand; M. Yloop; but there are several other names and signatures under the several poems, as W. R; R. Hill; R. D; M. T; D. S; T. H. C. H; M. D; F. M; M. S; F. G; Lodowick

6.ᵗ

THE PARADYSE

of dayntye deuiſes,

aptly furniſhed, with ſundrye pithie and learned inuentions:
deuiſed and written for the moſt part, by M. Edwards,
ſometimes of her Maieſties Chappel: the reſt, by
ſundry learned Gentlemen, both of honor,
and woorſhippe.

viz.

S. Barnarde.	Iaſper Heyvvood.
E. O.	F. K.
L. Vaux.	M. Bewe.
D.S.	R. Hill.

M. Yloop, with others.

IMPRINTED AT LON-
don by Henry Diſle, dwellyng in
Paules Churchyard, at the South weſt dooze
of Saint Paules Church, and are there
to be ſolde.

1576.

TITLE-PAGE OF THE 1576 EDITION (*A*)

Lloyd; E. S; M. K; M. Thorn; L. V; E. Oxf; W. H; R. L; T. Marshall; M. Edwardes; and one who subscribes with this anagram, "My lucke is losse."

Herbert's title and list of contributors show beyond reasonable doubt that the 1577 and 1578 editions were identical, or, more accurately, that *B* was simply a reprint of *X*. Sir John Hawkins's copy may still be in existence, but apparently no scholar or bibliographer since Herbert has seen either it or any other copy of *X*. T. F. Dibdin evidently had not. In his edition of the *Typographical Antiquities* (IV [1819], 187–189) he reproduces the title-pages of *A* and *X;* but the latter he seems to have borrowed from Herbert,[1] though he adds the information that *X* had forty-six leaves.[2] *B* also has forty-six leaves, *A* forty-eight. Dibdin goes on to say of *B* that "the title and colophon are the same as those of the preceding edition" (*X*), and he quotes with approval Haslewood's remark [3] that *B* "appears to vary from all the editions . . . and to contain a poem by George Whetstone, no where else to be met with." It is practically certain that the contents of *X* and *B* were identical, that Whetstone's poem first appeared in *X*, and hence that Dibdin, like Haslewood, had never seen a copy of *X*.

Every other reference to *X*, so far as I have observed, is probably based upon Herbert. A 1577 edition is referred to by George Ellis,[4] Sir Egerton Brydges,[5] J. P. Collier,[6] Thomas Corser,[7] and W. C. Hazlitt; but there is nothing to show that any of them — unless possibly Ellis — had ever seen a copy. In his *Hand-book* (1867), page 437, Hazlitt gives in abbreviated form the title-page of *X*, and remarks, "This edition appears to be a reprint of the preceding," that is, of *A*.[8] But that he was repeating second-hand information becomes certain from his comment in the *Supplements to the Third and Final Series of Bibliographical Collections and Notes* (1889), page 158: "Herbert, in his edition of Ames, describes 'the

[1] Two slight variations in the title — *Councels* for *Counsels*, and *Chappell;* for *Chappell:* — are evidently due to mere oversight.

[2] Lowndes, *The Bibliographer's Manual*, ed. Bohn, IV, 1772, has the entry: "Lond. by Henry Disle, 1577, 4to. This edition consists of 40 leaves."

[3] In Brydges's *Paradise*, p. xxvii. The remark is repeated by Lowndes, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Specimens of the Early English Poets*, 3d edition, II (1803), 92, 151, 154.

[5] In his edition of the *Paradise*, p. xxiv, note.

[6] *A Bibliographical and Critical Account of the Rarest Books*, I (1865), 241–245.

[7] *Collectanea Anglo-Poetica*, III (1877), 325.

[8] Such seems to have been Collier's opinion too: see his *Extracts from the Registers of the Stationers' Company*, II (1849), 171–173, and his Introduction to *Seven English Poetical Miscellanies* (1867), pp. v–vi.

next earliest edition,'[1] that of 1577, from a copy then belonging to Sir John Hawkins; but that impression, so far as I know, is not in the British Museum." Thomas Park, in a note to Warton's *History of English Poetry*,[2] observes that Haslewood has shown that "the first edition appeared in 1576, and a second in 1577"; but evidently he himself did not know the second edition. Later students have been no more successful in locating a copy. Mrs. Stopes[3] says explicitly that she has seen none; Mr. De Ricci[4] enumerates the edition solely on the authority of Herbert, as does McKerrow;[5] while Miss Henrietta C. Bartlett[6] is frankly skeptical that it ever existed, as is indicated by her entry, "B. 1577 (?). No copy known." That Hawkins had a copy and that Herbert saw it can hardly be doubted; but of its present whereabouts I have found no trace.

B. The Paradyse/of daynty deuises./ Conteyning sundry pithy preceptes, learned/Counsels, and excellent inuentions, right pleasant/and profitable for all estates./ Deuised and written for the most part, by M. Edwardes,/sometimes of her Maiesties Chappell: the rest,/by sundry learned Gentlemen, both of honor,/and worship, whose names here-/after folowe./(.•.) /[Device.[7]]/ ¶Imprinted at London, by Henry Disle,/dwelling in Paules Churchyard, at the Southwest/ doore of Saint Paules Church, and are/there to be solde./1578./

On the verso of the title-page appears the coat of arms of Lord Compton, beneath which, arranged in two parallel columns (each column being enclosed in large brackets), are the following names:

Saint Barnard	Iasper Heyvvod.
E. O.	F. Kindlemarsh.
Lord Vaux, the elder.	D. Sand.
VV. Hunis.	M. Yloop.

On the opposite page is the dedication, printed in very small type and tapering to a sort of inverted apex before the signature, which is followed by a narrow horizontal ornament.

[1] This is *not* a quotation, for Herbert describes *X* only, with no reference to *A*.

[2] IV (1824), 110 f., note. In the Huntington copy of *A* (80.27) some modern hand has added, "R. Hill Edit. 1577,"— a note perhaps made from an actual familiarity with *X*.

[3] Mrs. C. C. Stopes, *Shakespeare's Industry* (1916), p. 278.

[4] Seymour de Ricci, *The Book Collector's Guide* (1921), p. 211.

[5] *Printers' . . . Devices*, p. 64.

[6] *Mr. William Shakespeare* (1922), p. 104.

[7] The same as in *A*.

THE PARADYSE of daynty deuiſes.

Conteyning ſundry pithy preceptes, learned Counſels, and excellent inuentions, right pleaſant and profitable for all eſtates.

Deuiſed and written for the moſt part, by M. Edwardes, ſometimes of her Maieſties Chappell: the reſt, by ſundry learned Gentlemen, both of honor, and worſhip, whoſe names hereafter ſolowe.

(·'·)

¶ Imprinted at London, by Henry Diſle, dwelling in Paules Churchyard, at the Southwest doore of Saint Paules Church, and are there to be ſolde.

1578.

TITLE-PAGE OF THE 1578 EDITION (*B*)

On signature M2v, at the end of the last poem, the date 1578 is repeated.

Collation: 4to, sigs. A–L4, M2.

Three copies of *B* are known. (1) The Heber-Collier-Ouvry-Rowfant copy, which sold in Heber's sale (part iv, no. 726) for £7, was bought by the British Museum on October 12, 1909, for £150. Though it lacks six leaves, Collier reprinted it in 1867, filling in the gaps from a copy of *A*.[1] (2) The Christie-Miller copy, which was sold in December, 1919 (lot 71), for £250, lacked twenty-two leaves. I do not know who owns it now. (3) The Bodleian copy, which is followed in my edition, lacks four pages, or two leaves (signatures K3–K4), but is otherwise perfect. I have supplied these leaves from (1).

B contains 86 poems that are in *A*, plus 14 new poems, — counting as new, for the sake of convenience, No. 101, to which two stanzas and Churchyard's signature are added, and No. 109, which has two new lines and Edwards's signature, — making a total of 100 (strictly 98) poems. The new pieces are:

100. Amid the vale the slender shrub is hid from all mishap. By Jasper Heywood. A3v–A4.
101. Why art thou bound and mayst go free. [Two new stanzas added.] By Thomas Churchyard. Dv.
102. I read a Maying rime of late delighted much my ear. By M. S. D3.
103. You Muses, wear your mourning weeds, strike on the fatal drum. By Lodowick Lloyd. D4v–Ev.
104. A trusty friend is rare to find, a fawning foe may soon be got. By M. Edwards. E4v.
105. If thou delight in quietness of life. By M. Hunnis. G3.
106. My eye, why didst thou light on that which was not thine. By M. Hunnis. H3.
107. Like as the doleful dove delights alone to be. By W. Hunnis. I2.
108. Alack, when I look back upon my youth that's past. By M. Hunnis. I2–I2v.
109. In choice of friends what hap had I. [Two new lines added by M. Edwards.] I2v–I3.
110. Old friendship binds (though fain I would refuse). By G. Whetstone. K3–K4v.
111. In search of things that secret are, my mated muse began. By W. Hunnis. L.

[1] See p. xxxvii, below.

112. In wealth we see some wealthy men abound in wealth most wealthily. By W. Hunnis. L.

113. When I behold the bier, my last and posting horse. By L. Vaux. L_3–L_3^v.

Of these 14 new poems, No. 110 appears only in *B*,[1] while the remaining 13 are reprinted in every later edition. In *B* the 98 poems are arranged in the following order: Nos. 1, 5, 100, 3, 48, 2, 6–11, 4, 12–22, 101 (= 23), 24–27, 102, 28, 29, 103, 30–35, 104, 37, 40–43, 45, 44, 46, 47, 105, 50–55, 57, 106, 59, 60, 62–65, 75, 66, 67, 69, 107, 108, 71, 109 (= 72), 73, 74, 77, 79, 81–85, 110, 56, 111, 112, 87–91, 113, 93–96, 39, 98, 99. For the signatures on which these poems, as well as all others in *C–I*, are printed see the notes to the individual poems.

B lacks four lines on pages 99–100 that were added in later editions, and also lacks line 5 on page 43 and lines 4–12 on page 48; its bad reading of *Trusty* on page 105, line 8, is followed by *CDE*, but the other editions have *Faithful;* and its typographical errors are numerous. Yet it makes many more or less authoritative changes in the readings of *A*.

Up to signature K, *B* has the same pagination as *C*. Beginning with the fourth leaf, marked signature A_4, it carries (on the recto of the leaves) folio-numbers from 1 to 25, with only one error (the first "Fol. 5" should be "Fol. 4"); but, with the abrupt change in type at signature H, corresponding to the change that occurs at signature F in *A*,[2] the folio-numbering becomes decidedly erratic, the figures are much smaller, and the abbreviation "Fol." is dropped. The headlines have *daynty* in signatures A–G_4, and *daintie* in the remainder of the book; in the four pages (K_3–K_4) which I have inserted from another copy of *B* the spelling is *daynty*. Except for the first poem in the volume, *B* numbers its poems more or less consecutively up to 64 (No. 59 in this reprint), the point at which numbering ceases in every other edition. All the poems in *B* have titles, but three are without names of authors, four without "Finis," and three without key-words. *B* and all subsequent editions retain in the key-words whatever characters may accompany the words pointed to; but *B* itself uses no paragraph-signs.

C. The Paradyse/of daintie Deuises./ Contayning sundrie pithie preceptes, learned/Counsels, and excellent Inuentions: right pleasaunt/and profitable for all estates./ Deuised and written for the most part, by M. Edwards,

[1] But, presumably, also in *X*.

[2] See page xvi, above.

sometimes/of her Maiesties Chappell: the rest by sundrye lear-/ned Gentlemen, both of Honour, and Wor-/ship, whose names hereafter/followe. / [Device.[1]]/Imprinted at London, by Henrye Dizle,/dwelling in Pater noster rowe, and are to be solde at/his Shoppe, in Cannons lane, neare the great/North Dore of S. Paules/Church./1580./

On the verso of the title-page appears the coat of arms of Lord Compton, beneath which is the following statement arranged in three parallel columns:

The names of those who wrote these Deuises.	Saint Barnard. E. O. Lord Vaux, the elder. W. Hunis.	Jasper Heywood. F. Kindlemarsh. D. Sand. M. Yloop.

On the opposite page the dedication is printed in the same general style as in *B*, but without ornament.

On signature M_4, at the end of the last poem, appears the colophon, "Finis. 1580."

Collation: 4^{to}, sigs. A–M^4.

Only one copy of *C* is known. Lowndes[2] notes that it brought £55 13*s*. at the Roxburghe sale (lot 3169). In the Christie-Miller sale, December, 1919 (lot 72), it was sold for £400, and passed (through the agency of Bernard Quaritch, Ltd.) into the possession of Sir R. L. Harmsworth, Bart., Moray Lodge, Campden Hill, London. Both Mr. De Ricci[3] and Miss Bartlett[4] state that another copy is in the Bodleian Library; but the copy to which they refer, as I show below, belongs to an altogether different edition, dating *circa* 1590. The Harmsworth copy is perfect as to text, though its title-page and various margins are badly torn.

C contains 103 poems, which are made up as follows: 83 poems that appear in both *A* and *B;* 13 poems[5] that first appear in *B;* and 7 new pieces. These last are:

114. Mine own good father, thou art gone. By H.D. K.
115. In loathsome race pursued by slippery life. By Candish. K3.

[1] The same as in *A* and *B*.
[2] *Bibliographer's Manual*, ed. Bohn, IV, 1772.
[3] *The Book Collector's Guide* (1921), p. 211.
[4] *Mr. William Shakespeare* (1922), p. 104.
[5] It will be recalled that, strictly speaking, there are only 11 poems (Nos. 101 and 109 being merely enlarged in *B*), and that No. 110 occurs in *B* only.

116. If Cressid in her gadding mood. Anon. K3v–K4.
117. No gadding mood, but forced strife. Anon. K4–K4v.
118. What is this world? a net to snare the soul. By G. G. Mv–M2.
119. My haught desire too high that seeketh rest. By M. Edwards. M2.
120. In place where wants Apollo with his lute. By Barnabe Rich. M3–M4.

Of these seven poems, four (Nos. 116, 117, 119, 120) appear only in *C*, the other three in all later editions (*D–I*). In *C* the poems are printed in the following order: 1, 5, 100, 3, 48, 2, 6–11, 4, 12–22, 101 (= 23), 24–27, 102, 28, 29, 103, 30–35, 104, 37, 40–43, 45, 44, 46, 47, 105, 50–55, 57, 106, 59, 60, 62–65, 75, 66, 67, 69, 107, 108, 71, 109 (= 72), 73, 74, 77, 79, 114, 82–85, 115–117, 111, 112, 87–91, 113, 93–96, 118, 119, 98, 99, 120. *C* also supplies to No. 100 (see pages 99–100) four lines that were omitted in *B*.

C has the same pagination as *B* up to signature K, where its new poems enter. Beginning with the leaf marked A4, *C* has (on the recto only) a confused folio-numbering, with eight numbers duplicated and two triplicated. The numbering of poems shows less confusion, but two numbers are duplicated and three that in the normal sequence should appear are omitted altogether. Five poems are without authors' names (the same three as in *B* and two new poems), three without "Finis" (the same three are in *B*), and one page has no key-word. Occasionally a headline has *Paradice* for *Paradise*, but in general there is uniformity in spelling. *C* uses only one paragraph-mark, and that occurs before the very last title in the book.

D. The/Paradise/Of Daintie Devises./ Containyng sundrie pithie preceptes, learned / Counsailes and excellent Inuentions: right/pleasant and profitable for al estates. / Deuised and written for the most parte, by M. Edwardes,/sometime of her Maiesties Chappell: the rest by sun-/dry learned Gentlemen, both of Honor and/Worship, whose names here-/after followe./ [Ornament.]/At London,/Printed by Robert Walde-graue, for Ed-/ward White, dwelling neere the little North-doore/of Paules Church, at the signe of the Gun./Anno. 1585./

On the verso of the title-page appears a statement arranged as follows between two horizontal rectangular ornaments of a conventional pattern:

THE PARADYSE of daintie Deuises.

Contayning sundrie pithie preceptes, learned Counsels, and excellent Inuentions: right pleasaunt and profitable for all estates.

Deuised and written for the most part, by M. *Edwards*, sometimes of her Maiesties Chappell: the rest by sundrye learned Gentlemen, both of Honour, and Worship, whose names hereafter follows.

Imprinted at London, by Henrye Dizle, dwelling in Pater noster rowe, and are to be solde at his Shoppe, in Cannons lane, neare the greene Yeard Doore of S. Paules Church.

1580.

TITLE-PAGE OF THE 1580 EDITION (*C*)

¶ The names of those who wrote these Deuises.

Sainct Barnard.	Iasper Heiwood.
E. O.	F. Kindlemarshe.
Lorde Vaux, the elder.	D. Sande.
W. Hunis.	M. Yloop.

On the opposite page the dedication is printed in the same general style as in *BC*, with a narrow horizontal ornament above it.

On signature $M4^v$, at the bottom of the page, is an ornament, but no colophon.

Collation: 4^{to}, sigs. A–M^4.

Three copies of *D* are known. (1) The Park-Jolley-Corser copy was sold at the Huth sale in July, 1917 (lot 5558), for £40. It was imperfect, lacking the title-page and the last four pages, but having "at the end eighteen leaves of additional matter from the editions of 1576, 1580, and 1600." [1] Its present owner is untraced. (2) The copy owned by Mr. H. C. Folger, of New York, may be identical with lot 2875 recorded in the sale-catalogue of the Hibbert Library (1829) as having sold for £10 10*s*. (3) The Haslewood copy, which I have used in my edition, was sold at the Christie-Miller sale in December, 1919 (lot 73), for £760 and passed into the library of Mr. Huntington.

D contains 105 poems, made up as follows: 82 poems that appear in *A*, *B*, and *C;* 13 that first appear in *B;*[2] 3 (Nos. 114, 115, 118) that first appear in *C;* and 7 new poems. These seven are:

121. Perhaps you think me bold that dare presume to teach. Anon. D–D^v.
122. The deep turmoiled wight that lives devoid of ease. Anon. D^v–D2.
123. Who seeks the way to win renown. Anon. K4–$K4^v$.
124. What fond delight, what fancies strange. By J. H. M2–$M2^v$.
125. In May by kind Dame Nature wills all earthly wights to sing. [By M. Edwards.] M3–$M3^v$.
126. O sovereign salve of sin, who dost my soul behold. By J. Heywood. $M3^v$–M4.
127. The wand'ring youth whose race so rashly run. By J. Heywood. M4–$M4^v$.

[1] See the description given in Thomas Corser's *Collectanea Anglo-Poetica*, III (1877), 325–332.

[2] See p. xxi, n. 5.

The 105 poems in *D* are arranged in the following order: 1, 5, 100, 3, 48, 2, 6–11, 4, 12–21, 121, 122, 22, 101 (= 23), 24–27, 102, 28, 29, 103, 30–35, 104, 37, 40–43, 45, 44, 46, 47, 105, 50–55, 57, 106, 59, 60, 62–65, 75, 66, 67, 69, 107, 108, 71, 109 (= 72), 73, 74, 77, 79, 114, 82–84, 123, 115, 111, 112, 87–91, 113, 93–96, 118, 124, 98, 99, 125–127.

Every later edition (*E–I*) has exactly the same contents and order as *D*, except that *E* is the last to print the dedication; they all follow *D*, too, in dispensing with folio-numbers, but the pagination of *D* is in general unlike that of any other edition. In its headlines *D* follows the spelling of the title-page consistently, though in one case ($E2^v$–$E3$) it inadvertently reverses the two parts of the title; but more than two-thirds of the capital *T*'s in the headlines are either broken or in a wrong font. Among the poem-numbers there are four pairs of duplicates and eight cases in which an expected number does not appear at all. Forty-six poems are not numbered, six have no authors' names, two no "Finis." All the key-words are in their proper places, and the paragraph-sign is used eleven times.

E. The Paradise of Dainty Devices, *circa* 1590.

Collation: 4^{to}, sigs. A–L^4.

The copy of *E* followed in my edition, and the only copy I have been able to find, is in the Bodleian Library. It lacks the title-page (signature A) and the last four leaves (signatures L–L4). Edmond Malone, its former owner, inserted these missing pages in manuscript and capriciously dated his title-page 1580.[1] This date, accepted by the Bodleian catalogue, has misled all bibliographers, like Miss Bartlett and Mr. De Ricci. In reality, the book is entirely different from the edition of 1580. Since it contains the dedication to Lord Compton, who died on December 10, 1589, it can be no later than 1590.

[1] His title-page runs: "The /Paradice /of Daintie Devises /Contayning many pithy precepts, learned Coun-/sayles and excellent inventions: right pleasant and /profitable for all estates. /Deuised and written for the most parte by /M. Edwards, sometime of her Majesties Chapell: the rest /by sundry Gentlemen both of Honour and Wor-/ship, whose Names hereafter /followe. /Whereunto is added new inuentions, /very pleasant and delightful. /At London. /1580. /" Although this title differs in several particulars from that of any other extant edition, it was, as Malone explains in a note at the end of the volume, intended to reproduce, except for the date, the title-page of the 1600 edition (*H*). It has no connection with the title of the 1580 edition (*C*), which in this same note Malone again, in so many words, identifies with *E*. After his written title-page he inserted a sheet bearing "the Names of those who wrote these Deuises," with a few notes about them.

THE PARADISE OF DAINTIE DEVISES.

Containyng ſundrie pithie preceptes, learned Counſailes and excellent Inuentions: right *pleaſant and profitable for al eſtates.*

Deuiſed and written for the moſt parte, by M. EDWARDES, ſometime of her Maieſties Chappell: the reſt by ſundry learned Gentlemen, both of Honor and Worſhip, whoſe names hereafter followe.

AT LONDON,
Printed by Robert Walde-graue, *for* Edward White, dwelling neere the little North-doore *of Paules Church, at th: ſigne of the Gun.*
Anno. 1585.

TITLE-PAGE OF THE 1585 EDITION (*D*)

E has the same number and order of poems as have the editions from 1585 to 1606 (*DF–I*). It should be observed, however, that throughout the first three signatures *BCD* agree, on the whole, in arrangement and pagination, as do *E–I;*[1] whereas *A* has a different pagination from either group. Hence there are, as it were, three series of editions. The readings of *E* are in general more nearly related to the early than to the later editions. Thus, at signature $I4^v$ (see below, page 84, line 28) *E* reads, "I am not as seem to be," as do *A* and *B;* while *CDF–I* have the correct reading, "I am not as I seem to be." At $E4$ (page 105, line 8, below) it has "A trusty friend," as have *B–D;* whereas *F–I* have the proper phrasing, "A faithful friend." Again, at $F4^v$ (page 50, line 10) it has "In going to my naked bed," and at $H4$ (page 70, line 26) "The fire," agreeing in both cases with *A–D;* but in *FG* the word *bed* is dropped and *The* is misprinted *TThe*. *E* agrees more closely with *D* (1585) than with *FG* (1596), which are very carelessly printed. For these reasons I have dated it about 1590.

Although *E* has the same contents and order as *DF–I*, it agrees with *F–I* rather than with *D* in printing many poems without spaces between stanzas. In the spelling of its headlines it keeps vibrating back and forth between *Daintie Deuises* and *Daintye Deuices*; and in the numbering of poems, though it apparently attempts to correct the blunders of *D*, it falls into mistakes of its own, for it has four new sets of duplicate numbers and a few other errors. All the key-words seem originally to have been in place, but many are now worn off at the ragged corners of the battered pages. No use is made of the paragraph-sign except at the beginning of the dedication.

The dedication, which appears for the last time in *E*, is printed in the same general form as in *D;* but at the top of the page is a broad, elaborate ornament instead of a narrow, conventional one like that in *D*. The colophon is of course missing with the remainder of signature $L4$.

F. The/Paradice/of Dainty Deuises./ Containing sundry pithie precepts, learned/Counsailes and exellent [*sic*] Inuentions: right/pleasant and profitable for all estates/Deuised and written for the most parte by/M. Edwardes, sometime of her Maiesties Chappell: the rest by/sundry learned Gentlemen both of Honor and/Worship, whose names heer-/after followe./ Whereunto is added sundry new Inuenti-/ons, very pleasant and delightfull./

[1] So far as the arrangement of the text itself is concerned, the pagination of *E* is the same as that of *F–I;* but because *E* contains the dedication, which the others lack, its text begins one page later than theirs,—on signature $A2^v$ instead of on A2.

[Device.[1]]/At London/Printed by Edward Allde for Edvvard White/dwelling at the little North doore of Saint Paules/Church, at the signe of the Gunne./Anno. 1596./

On the verso of the title-page appears a statement arranged thus, between two horizontal rectangular ornaments:

The names of those who wrote
these deuises.

Sa nt[2] Barnard.	Iasper Haywood.
E. ⅄ O.	F. Kindlemarshe.
Lord[3] Vaux the Elder.	D. Sande.
W. Hunnis.	M. Ylope.

The colophon, on signature L4, arranged between two ornaments precisely like those on the verso of the title-page, reads: "At London./ Printed by E. A. for Edwarde/VVhite., [*sic*] dwelling at the little North/ doore of Paules Church, at the/Signe of the Gunne./Anno. 1596./"

Collation: 4[to], sigs. A–L[4].

Three copies of *F* are known. (1) The British Museum copy was formerly owned by George Steevens, whose autograph is on the title-page and at whose sale (lot 996) in 1800 the book brought £4 6*s*. (2) An imperfect copy is in the Capell collection at Trinity College, Cambridge. Mr. H. M. Adams, the librarian, informs me that it "lacks the last leaf (L4) containing the end of the text and the colophon. Also the signature A2 is cut away at the bottom of the second leaf. Otherwise the copy is complete." (3) The Lamport-Christie-Miller copy, which sold at Sotheby's in December, 1919 (lot 74), for £680, is now owned by Mr. Henry E. Huntington. I have followed (1) in my edition.

Except for the absence of the dedication (which stops with *E*), *F* has the same contents and order as *DEGHI*, and, apart from the slight difference in the signature-marks of *E*,[4] the same pagination as *EGHI*. In signatures A2–A3[v] the headlines are badly cut, and on the other pages they constantly vary in spelling. In numbering the poems *F* corrects several blunders made in *E*, but makes new mistakes of its own. It lacks three key-words and uses no paragraph-signs.

[1] See McKerrow's *Printers' . . . Devices*, device 290.

[2] The *i* of *Saint* has dropped to the next line, between *E.* and *O.*

[3] The *r* of *Lord* is printed upside down.

[4] See above, p. xxv, n.

THE

PARADICE

of Dainty Deuiſes.

Containing ſundry pithie precepts, learned
Counſailes and excellent Inuentions, verie
pleaſant and profitable for all eſtates.

Deuiſed and written for the moſt parte by
M. Edwardes, ſometime of her Maieſties Chappell: the reſt by
ſundry learned Gentlemen both of Honour and
Worſhip, whoſe names heer-
after followe.

Whereunto is added ſundry new Inuenti-
ons, very pleaſant and delightfull.

AT LONDON
Printed by *Edward Allde* for *Edward White*
dwelling at the little North doore of Saint Paules
Church, at the ſigne of the Gunne.
Anno. 1596.

TITLE-PAGE OF THE 1596 EDITION (*F*)

THE PARADICE of Dainty Deuiſes.

Containing ſundry pithie precepts, learned Counſailes and excellent Inuentions: right pleaſant and profitable for all eſtates.

Deuiſed and written for the moſt parte by M. Edwardes, ſometime of her Maieſties Chappell: the reſt by. ſundry learned Gentlemen both of Honor and Worſhip, whoſe names heer-after followe.

Whereunto is added ſundry new Inuenti-ons, very pleaſant and delightfull.

AT LONDON
Printed by *Edward Allde* for *Edward W!*
dwelling at the little North doore of Saint Paules Church, at the ſigne of the Gunne.

TITLE-PAGE OF THE 1596 EDITION (*G*)

G. The/Paradice/of Dainty Deuises./ Containing sundry pithie precepts, learned/Counsailes and exellent [*sic*] Inuentions: right/pleasant and profitable for all estates/Deuised and written for the most parte by/M. Edwardes, sometime of her Maiesties Chappell: the rest by/sundry learned Gentlemen both of Honor and/Worship, whose names heer-/after followe./ Whereunto is added sundry new Inuenti-/ons, very pleasant and delightfull./ [Device.[1]] At London/Printed by Edward Allde for Edvvard W[hite][2]/dwelling at the little North doore of Saint Paules/Church, at the signe of the Gunne./

On the verso of the title-page, between ornaments identical with those in *F*, appears a statement arranged thus:

The names of those who wrote
these deuises.

Saint Barnard.	Iasper Haywood.
E. O.	F. Kindlemarshe.
Lord[3] Vaux the Elder.	D. Sande.
W. Hunnis.	M. Ylope.

The colophon, on signature L_4, under an ornament like that in *F* but with no ornament beneath it, reads: "At London./Printed by E. A. for Edward/VVhite., [*sic*] dwelling at the little North/doore of Paules Church, at the/Sign[e of the Gun]ne.[4]/"

Collation: 4^{to}, sigs. A–L^4.

One copy of *G* is known, the Brand-North-Heber-Utterson-Corser-Sewall-Harris copy, which is now in the possession of Mr. W. A. White, of Brooklyn. It lacks signature H_4 (though Brand supplied this missing leaf in manuscript); the margins are closely trimmed, and in one case (equivalent to page 6, line 6, below) almost an entire line has been cut off. Corser describes this copy fully in his *Collectanea Anglo-Poetica*.[5] He says that it brought £8 18*s*. 6*d*. at Brand's sale (no. 7511); £4 5*s*. at North's (part iii, no. 765); £2 7*s*. at Heber's (part iv, no. 1779); £2 3*s*. at Utterson's (part i, no. 692). It has been variously dated; for example, by Hazlitt[6] and by De Ricci as "about 1590," by Miss Bartlett as "about 1600." Nevertheless, it is merely another impression of the 1596 edition (*F*), with which it is almost exactly identical. Both *F* and *G* were printed by

[1] The same as in *F*.
[2] The *hite* dropped from the form in printing.
[3] The *r* of *Lord* is printed upside down, as it is in *F*.
[4] The letters in brackets evidently dropped from the form in printing.
[5] III (1877), 333–334.
[6] *Hand-book* (1867), p. 438.

Edward Allde for Edward White, and the two editions agree word for word, line for line, page for page. It seems likely that *G* was first printed without a dated title-page, and that, after a few misprints had been detected and corrected,[1] a new title-page dated 1596 was set up and further copies were struck off; but, if so, in the dated edition (*F*) several errors that are not in *G* were made.[2] Nearly every letter and mark of punctuation in the two are identical; and that *F* and *G* belong to the same edition, although they represent different impressions, is proved by some remarkable misprints that they have in common.[3]

Except for the absence of the dedication, *G* has the same contents and order as *DEFHI*, and, apart from the slight difference in the signature-marks of E,[4] the same pagination as *EFHI*. It follows *F* in its changeable spelling of headlines, in its omission of the same three key-words, in its non-use of paragraph-signs, and in general in its misnumbering of titles.

H. The /Paradice /of Daintie Deuises. / Contayning many pithy precepts, learned Coun- /sayles and excellent inuentions: right pleasant and /profitable for all estates. / Deuised and written for the most parte by /M. Edwards, sometime of her Maiesties Chappell: the rest by /sundry Gentlemen both of Honour and VVor- /ship, whose Names heereafter /followe. / Whereunto is added sundry new inuentions, /very pleasant and delightfull. / [Ornament.] / At London, /Printed for Edward White, and are to be /sold at his shop at the little North doore /of Paules Church, at the signe of /the Gunne. /

On the verso of the title-page, between two horizontal rectangular ornaments different from any that had appeared in previous editions, is a statement arranged thus:

The Names of those who wrote
these Deuises.

Saint Barnard.	Iasper Haywoode.
E. O.	F. Kindlemarsh.
Lord Vaux the elder.	D. Sand.
VV. Hunnis.	M. Yloope.

[1] E. g., at sig. B4 (16.16) *G* has *ticekle* and *F* has *tickle;* at sig. G2 (55.26) *G* has the author-signature "E," which in *F* is correctly printed "E. S."; at sig. G2^{v} (57.6) *G* has *Echone* and *F* has *Eche one*.

[2] E. g., at sig. D2 (29.18) *G* has *wherein* and *I finde; F* has *whereiu* and *I ifnde* (with the *if* upside down).

[3] See, e. g., the list of misprints below, at 9.7, 15.23, 16.34, 22.12, 70.4, etc. Note also that the wrong signature-mark at D2 in *F* is repeated in *G*, but is corrected in *HI*.

[4] See above, p. xxv, n.

THE PARADICE of Daintie Deuiſes.

Contayning many pithy precepts, learned Counſayles and excellent inuentions: right pleaſant and profitable for all eſtates.

Deuiſed and written for the moſt parte by M. Edwards, ſometime of her Maieſties Chappell: the reſt by ſundry Gentlemen both of Honour and VVorſhip, whoſe Names heereafter followe.

VVhereunto is added ſundry new inuentions, *very pleaſant and delightfull.*

AT LONDON,
Printed for Edward VVhite, and are to be ſold at his ſhop at the little North doore of Paules Church, at the ſigne of the Gunne.

TITLE-PAGE OF THE 1600 EDITION (*H*)

The colophon, on signature L_4, runs: "At London, /Printed for Edward White, dwelling at the / little North doore of Paules Church, at the signe / of the Gunne. / 1600. /" There is no accompanying ornament.

Collation: 4^{to}, sigs. A–L^4.

The only known copy of *H*, formerly in the Farmer, Roxburghe, and Christie-Miller libraries, was sold at Sotheby's in December, 1919 (lot 75), for £460, and is now owned by Mr. Huntington. It had belonged to George Steevens, whose autograph appears on the verso of the last leaf (L_4^v). In his handwriting, too, there are three pages at the beginning of the volume devoted to a list of the "Contents of the Paradise of Daintie Deuises. Edit. 1600," which also enumerates the variations between the contents of *A* and *H*. These notes were reproduced by Sir Egerton Brydges in the first volume of *Censura Literaria*.[1] At the end of *H*, also in Steevens's handwriting, there is an "Alphabetical Index," with some notes on "the known Editions" of the *Paradise*.

Except for the absence of the dedication, *H* has the same contents and order as *DEFGI*, and, apart from the slight difference in the signature-marks of *E*,[2] the same pagination as *EFGI*. It was no doubt set up from *F* or *G*, though it has many changes in spelling and punctuation, usually in the direction of modernization. Its headlines are spelled properly throughout, and except in one instance all its key-words are present; but in the numbering of poems it is still erratic, repeating some of the blunders of *F* and *G*, besides adding several of its own. It makes no use of paragraph-signs.

I. The/Paradise/of Daintie Deuises./ Contayning many pithy precepts, learned Coun/sailes aud [*sic*] excellent inuentions: right pleasant and/profitable for al estates./ Deuised and written for the most parte by/ M. Edwardes sōetime of her Maiesties Chappell: the rest by/sundry Gentlemen both of Honour and Wor-/ship whose Names hereafter/followe./ Whereunto is added sundry new inuentions/very pleasant and delightfull./ [Device.[3]] At London./ Printed for Edvvard VVhite dwel-/ling at the little North doore of Paules/Church at the signe of the Gun./1606./

[1] 1 (1805), 255–266.

[2] See above, p. xxv, n.

[3] See McKerrow's *Printers' . . . Devices*, device 282.

On the verso of the title-page, between two horizontal rectangular ornaments unlike any that had appeared before, is a statement arranged thus:

The Names of those who wrote
these Deuises.

Saint Barnard.	Iasper Haywoode.
E. O.	F. Kindlemarsh.
Lord Vaux the elder.	D. Sand.
W. Hunnis.	M. Yloope.

There is no colophon and no ornamentation.

Collation: 4^{to}, sigs. A–L^4.

The only traceable copy of *I* was sold in the Christie-Miller sale in December, 1919 (lot 76), for £390, and belongs to Mr. Huntington. Lowndes,[1] Hazlitt,[2] and De Ricci [3] note that a copy sold in the Nassau sale (part ii, lot 590) in 1824 for £1 11*s*.

Except for the absence of the dedication, *I* has the same contents and order as *D–H*, and, apart from the slight difference in the signature-marks of *E*,[4] the same pagination as *EFGH*. It was undoubtedly set up from *H*, from which it varies only in minute particulars. For example, Queen Elizabeth died after *H* was printed, and cognizance of that fact is taken in *I*. Thus, in one poem (equivalent to page 104, line 21, below) *Queene* was changed to *King*, to the detriment of chronology, context, and sense; but the change in another poem (cf. page 31, line 11) from *Queenes* to *late Queenes* is sensible. *I* has both the merits and the demerits of *H:* it spells headlines in one way throughout, apparently misses no key-words (and corrects some wrongly printed in *H*), uses no paragraph-signs, and even retains all the blunders made by *H* in numbering poems.

Perhaps there were other editions of the *Paradise* that have failed to come down to the present time or that I have not found. A few others of various dates have, on doubtful authority, been mentioned. No weight, for instance, can be attached to the reference by Thomas Warton [5] to an

[1] *Bibliographer's Manual*, ed. Bohn, iv, 1772.

[2] *Hand-book* (1867), p. 438.

[3] *Book Collector's Guide*, p. 212.

[4] See p. xxv, n., above.

[5] *The History of English Poetry*, iii (1781), 388. But see pages 44 and 285n. in the same volume, where Warton says that the *Paradise* was published in 1578.

THE PARADISE of Daintie Deuiſes.

Contayning many pithy precepts, learned Counſailes and excellent inuentions: right pleaſant and profitable for al eſtates.

Deuiſed and written for the moſt parte by M. Edwardes ſometime of her Maieſties Chappell: the reſt by ſundry Gentlemen both of Honour and Worſhip whoſe Names hereafter followe.

Whereunto is added ſundry new inuentions *very pleaſant and delightfull.*

AT LONDON.
Printed for EDVVARD VVHITE dwelling at the little North doore of Paules *Church at the ſigne of the Gun.*

TITLE-PAGE OF THE 1606 EDITION (*I*)

edition of 1573, or to that by Theophilus Cibber [1] to an edition of 1574. It is possible, however, that Timothy Rider brought out an edition in 1582 or 1583, after the copyright had been assigned to him;[2] for in 1583, among the publications which the London bookseller Thomas Chard forwarded to Cambridge by Hobson the carrier, were "25 Paradice of Devises. 4°... 8 0."[3] Whether this item means that the twenty-five copies belonged to a new edition of 1582 or 1583, or to the old edition of 1580, is problematical. The sum of eight shillings, by the way, shows that the price of the *Paradise* "to the trade" was about fourpence a copy. To the public, copies were no doubt sold at the customary price of sixpence. On the title-page of Mr. Huntington's copy of the first edition "6d." is written in an Elizabethan hand.

Dubious, too, is the edition of 1592, from which Francis G. Waldron claimed to be quoting in his *Literary Museum* of 1792;[4] and altogether unintelligible is the assertion made by Brydges,[5] in discussing Edward White's 1596 edition (*F*), that "Edward Allde also put forth an edition in 1596, 4to. to which the device is a flowerpot." Both *F* and *G* were printed by Allde for White, and both bear Allde's flower-pot device. More important is the fact that the *Paradise* was entered in the Stationers' Register in 1620, 1626, 1634, and 1655; but each of these entries was a mere transfer of ownership, an assignment of rights, probably made with no idea at all of printing a new edition.

II. THE REPUTATION OF THE *PARADISE*

Issued in 1576, the *Paradise* gained instantaneous popularity, and, with new editions called for in each of the two succeeding years, it was of course only natural that other poetical miscellanies should be published in imitation of it. The first imitator was *A Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant In-*

[1] *The Lives of the Poets*, I (1753), 107.

[2] See p. xli, below.

[3] Robert Jahn, "Letters and Booklists of Thomas Chard (or Chare) of London, 1583–4," *The Library*, Bibliographical Society, 4th series, IV (1923), 232.

[4] Page 23. Waldron may have confused the date with that of his own book (1792). He apparently quotes from the 1580 *Paradise*. Lowndes (*Bibliographer's Manual*, ed. Bohn, IV, 1772) calls Waldron's alleged source "a doubtful edition," and W. C. Hazlitt (*The Complete Poems of George Gascoigne*, II [1870], 334) says that he is "unacquainted" with it. In referring to Waldron's *Literary Museum*, Hazlitt assigns to it the incorrect date of 1789. Cf. the note on 119.27, below.

[5] *Censura Literaria*, I (1805), 256.

ventions,[1] a miscellany compiled, with a none too scrupulous regard for originality, by Owen Roydon and Thomas Proctor, and printed in 1578. Its title-page shows an obvious attempt to mimic that of the *Paradise;*[2] for it announces "gallant inventions . . . decked with divers *dainty devices*, right delicate and delightful, *to recreate each modest mind* withal. First framed and fashioned in *sundry forms* by *divers worthy workmen of late days*."[3] Furthermore, it lifts three poems[4] bodily from the *Paradise*. Possibly Proctor, himself a young printer, had Disle's permission to do this; probably, however, he borrowed and imitated, as Shakespeare did, with no thought of apology. Plagiarism, as we now call it, was not a crime in the days of Elizabeth, and to acknowledge borrowings from another work was practically unheard of.[5] The *Gallery*, however, did not prosper; in striking contrast to the *Paradise*, it did not, so far as is known, reach even a second edition.

Soon other miscellanies were published, — *A Handful of Pleasant Delights* (1584), *The Phœnix Nest* (1593), *England's Helicon* (1600), *A Poetical Rhapsody* (1602), — but none attained to anything even remotely resembling the popularity of the *Paradise*. The only rival it had (for the *Mirror for Magistrates* is not a genuine miscellany) was Tottel's *Miscellany*, which by 1587 had reached its eighth edition. Towards the end of the century, however, taste had changed, as the decay of the sonnet-sequences proves; and, though new editions of the *Paradise* were issued in 1600 and 1606, it began to be displaced by Francis Davison's *Poetical Rhapsody*, which was published in 1602, 1608, 1611, and 1621.

Elizabethan references and allusions to the *Paradise* are not infrequent, some complimentary, others uncomplimentary. In 1586 William Webbe, the rhetorician,[6] declared that English poetry had found few friends to prevent it from relapsing into barbarism, "those that can reseruing theyr skyll to themselues, those that cannot running headlong vppon it, thinking to garnish it with their deuises, but more corrupting it

[1] Edited by the present writer in 1926 (Harvard University Press).

[2] Cf. also W. A.'s title: *A Speciall Remedie against the furious force of lawlesse Loue. . . . With other delightfull deuices of daintie delightes to passe away idle time, with pleasure and profit* (1579). One section of this book is called "Delightfull and daintie deuises," and has extensive borrowings from the *Paradise*.

[3] The italics are mine.

[4] Nos. 37, 49, 95.

[5] For liberties taken by Brian Melbancke see the Notes, 16. 6–8.

[6] *A Discourse of English Poetrie*, 1586 (Gregory Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, I, 227).

with fantasticall errours," — a remark interpreted by Sir Egerton Brydges [1] as a direct slur at the *Paradise*. But that both Webbe and his follower Puttenham [2] profoundly admired that miscellany, their quotations from it or their praises of its authors conclusively prove.[3]

Perhaps Thomas Nashe had the title-page of *X* or some later edition in mind when, in his *Anatomy of Absurdity* (1589),[4] he sarcastically inquired: "Are they [i. e., authors] not ashamed in their prefixed posies, to adorne a pretence of profit mixt with pleasure, when as in their bookes there is scarce to be found one precept pertaining to vertue, but whole quires fraught with amorous discourses, kindling *Venus* flame in *Vulcans* forge?" But Nashe was a young man who was presumptuously trying to lay down laws for the writers of the day. He was "showing off"; and, if he actually was slurring the *Paradise*, then undoubtedly he had read nothing but the title-page, for a casual glance at the poems would have revealed comparatively few amorous discourses, whole quires of moral precepts.

A few other Elizabethan allusions deserve mention. Abraham Fraunce, in *The Countesse of Pembrokes Yvychurch* (1591), D3, writes:

> Twoo faire eyes teach mee my lesson:
> And what I read in those, I doe write in a barck of a beech-tree,
> Beech-tree better booke, than a thousand *Dainty deuises*.[5]

In his *Polimanteia, Or, The meanes lawfull and vnlawfull, to Ivdge of the Fall of a Common-Wealth* (1595),[6] William Covell represents England as speaking to her three daughters, — the Inns of Court and the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, — and as calling upon Campion, Breton, Lodge, Drayton, and other poets to sing. If they will sing, says England, "then should not the Paradise of daintie deuises bee a packet of balde rimes: then should not *Zepheria*, *Cephalus* and *Procris* (workes I dispraise not) like watermē pluck euery passinger by the sleeue: then euery brainles toy should not vsurpe the name of Poetrie." The poem "In Commenda-

[1] In his edition of the *Paradise*, p. xxiv.

[2] According to a brilliant essay by B. M. Ward (*The Review of English Studies*, 1 [1925], 284–308), John, Lord Lumley, rather than Puttenham, was probably the author of *The Arte of English Poesie*.

[3] See, for example, the references in section V, below, under M.B., M.D., Richard Hill, Francis Kindlemarsh, the Earl of Oxford, etc.; and the notes on page 105, line 21.

[4] R. B. McKerrow's Nashe, 1, 10.

[5] Quoted also in Brydges's edition of the *Paradise* (1810), p. xxiv. There was a copy of Fraunce's book in Mr. J. L. Clawson's library (*Catalogue*, item 295).

[6] Edited by A. B. Grosart, *Elizabethan England* (1881), pp. 38–39.

tion of Music" (No. 57) was quoted by Thomas Dekker in *Old Fortunatus* (1600) some four years after it had been immortalized by Shakespeare's good-natured ridicule in *Romeo and Juliet*.[1]

After 1606, two hundred years passed, so far as is known, before another edition was prepared. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, however, students began to pay some attention to the *Paradise*. Bishop Percy referred to it several times in his *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765) [2] and reprinted one of its most celebrated songs; [3] Thomas Warton included an elaborate discussion of Edwards in his *History of English Poetry* (1781), and mentioned the *Paradise* a number of times elsewhere in the work, besides quoting from some of its poems; while George Ellis printed eight of the poems in the three editions of his *Specimens of the Early English Poets* (1790, 1801, 1803). The most earnest student was George Steevens, the Shakespearean scholar, whose notes [4] formed the basis of a lengthy essay on the *Paradise* which Sir Egerton Brydges contributed in 1805 to *Censura Literaria*.[5]

In more recent days the *Paradise* has met with its due meed of praise. It is mentioned, though without any particular enthusiasm, by all historians of Elizabethan poetry, such as Courthope, Seccombe, H. H. Child, and Schelling. Perhaps the sincerest compliment paid to it, however, has come from the Charles Pratt Company, of New York, which in 1882 issued for Christmas gifts a pamphlet called *A Paradise of Daintie Devices. A Collection of Poems, Songs, Ballads. By Various Hands.* The pamphlet contained selections from British and American poets, old and modern, as well as ballads from broadside and traditional sources. But this paradise of poetry served only as an enticement to the purchase of Pratt's Astral Oil and Pratt's Prepared Gasolene!

III. MODERN EDITIONS OF THE *PARADISE*

The article which Brydges contributed to *Censura Literaria* led him to a further study of the *Paradise*, with the result that a few years later he got out the first modern edition. It had the following title-page:

[1] See the Notes (63.3).

[2] Edited by H. B. Wheatley, I, 187; II, 51 n., 185.

[3] No. 57. See *Reliques*, I, 188–189.

[4] See the description of the 1600 edition (*H*), above.

[5] I, 255–266. A book called *The New Paradise of Dainty Devices* was issued at London in 1777.

The/Paradise/Of/Dainty Deuices/Reprinted from/A Transcript of the First Edition, 1576,/In the hand writing of the late/George Steevens, Esq./ With an Appendix:/Containing Additional Pieces from the Editions of/1580 & 1600./ And Introductory Remarks, Biographical and Critical./ By Sir Egerton Brydges, K. J./ London:/Printed for Robert Triphook, 37, St. James's Street,/And William Sancho, at the Mews Gate./1810./

In the "Advertisement," signed "Samuel Egerton Brydges. Denton, Nov. 26, 1809," we are informed that "the additional pieces from the subsequent editions of 1580 and 1600, were kindly communicated by Mr. [Thomas] Park, from copies made by George Ellis," and that Joseph Haslewood saw the book through the press. The Preface (page xxiii) ends with some Elizabethan references to the *Paradise* that were contributed by Park and Haslewood; and at page 120 the latter added a note apologizing for the errors which a reliance on Steevens's copy and a faulty proof-reading had introduced into the text. The 1810 edition, then, represents the composite work of five distinguished scholars, Brydges, Ellis, Steevens, Park, and Haslewood; but for convenience it will be referred to by Brydges's name only.

According to the Advertisement, 120 copies were issued separately in quarto form,[1] and 250 copies in octavo were "attached to the *British Bibliographer*." Perhaps no book was ever published in a more puzzling manner. In most copies of the *British Bibliographer* (4 volumes, 1810–1814), — in those, for example, at the British Museum, the Library of Congress, and the Harvard College Library, — the *Paradise* is included in volume III. Henry Bohn's edition of Lowndes's *Bibliographer's Manual*,[2] however, says that it should be in volume IV, where in various sets (like that in the New York Public Library) it does appear. Furthermore, the octavo issue, no less than the quarto, often occurs in separate form, sometimes with, sometimes without, the 1810 title-page; while in many cases [3] an octavo copy, to which is added a reprint of *Ludus Scacchiæ: Chesse-Play* (1597), has a title-page indicating that it belongs to the fourth volume of *Miscellanea Poetica Anglicana Antiqua*, a series of reprints issued without date (1810–1812?) and sold by John Booker. Still more confusion was created by Brydges's reissue of 1812, in which (at least in all the copies I

[1] One of these, formerly owned by J. P. Collier and containing his notes collating *A* and *B*, is in the Huntington Library.

[2] I (1864), 297.

[3] E. g., in the copies at Columbia University and the Library of Congress, as well as in my own copy.

have seen) were included the Elizabethan title-page and two modern title-pages. Sometimes one of the latter is identical with that of 1810 given above, while the other runs as follows:

The/Paradise of Dainty Devices,/Reprinted/From the First Edition 1576./ With an/Appendix,/Containing/Additional Pieces from the Editions of 1580 & 1600./ And/Introductory Remarks,/Biographical and Critical,/ By Sir Egerton Brydges, K. J./[Device.]/ London:/Printed by T. Bensley, Bolt Court, Fleet Street,/For Robert Triphook, 37, St. James's Street./ 1812./

In the Harvard copy neither of the two is identical with the 1810 title-page. One is like that just quoted, and the other reads:

The/Paradise of Dainty Devises,/Reprinted/From the Editions of/ 1576, 1580, & 1600./ And/England's Helicon,/From the Editions of/1600 & 1614./With/Introductory Remarks,/Biographical and Critical,/By Sir Egerton Brydges, K. J./[Same device as in the title above.]/ London:/ Printed by T. Bensley, Bolt Court, Fleet Street,/For Robert Triphook, 37, St. James's Street./1812./

In spite of its faults, Brydges's work deserves praise. He reprints *A* entire, and in an appendix includes eighteen poems from *C* which are not in *A* and seven poems from *H* which are not in *A* or *C*. Evidently he had made a study of the editions of 1576, 1580, and 1600 only; but he enumerates others of the dates 1577, 1578, 1585, 1596; and Haslewood adds (pages xxvii, 116) the title-pages of the 1578, 1596 (*G*), and 1600 editions. Brydges deserves, and no doubt has received, the gratitude of scholars. Although his text is so unreliable [1] that I have included none of his readings in my collations, yet in the course of more than three centuries his has been the only edition in which all the poems — except No. 110 and parts of Nos. 101, 109, 123—of the various Elizabethan editions could be read. Moreover, until the present book appeared, Brydges's edition was the only one generally accessible. His indexes and his biographical sketches, too, are valuable. The defects of his editing must be passed over in charity and gratitude. After all, to have produced a scholarly work that has lasted undisturbed for more than a century is an achievement so remarkable as to arouse one's envy.

[1] One outstanding instance relates to No. 40, which Brydges prints without either number or title. At this very point, too, there is temporary confusion in his pagination. But most of his lapses from the 1576 text, so far as I have noticed them, involve single words.

John Payne Collier included the *Paradise* in his "Blue Series" of *Seven English Poetical Miscellanies, Printed between 1557 and 1602* (1867). His reprint, which follows neither the mechanical arrangement nor the typography of the original, is based upon the imperfect Rowfant copy of *B*, with the twelve missing pages filled in from *A*.[1] The results of sandwiching two entirely distinct editions are, to put it mildly, misleading. The first gap extends from signature D2 through signature $D3^{v}$; and Collier fills it from *A* with part of No. 24, all of Nos. 25, 26, 27, and part of No. 28, but of course omits No. 102, which in *B* comes between Nos. 27 and 28. The second gap, H2–$H3^{v}$, he bridges with Nos. 55, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, and part of 62; but Nos. 58 and 61 occur in *A* only, while No. 106 is added to *B;* furthermore, in *B* No. 57 is anonymous — not assigned to Edwards. To stop the third gap, M–$M2^{v}$, Collier prints part of No. 95 and all of Nos. 96, 97, 98, 99; but No. 97 appears in *A* only, and No. 39 (which is on signature D4–$D4^{v}$ in *A* and signature M^{v}–M2 in *B*) he omits. It would be impossible to find elsewhere a reprint that, however innocently, gives a falser notion of its original.

Collier reproduces the original title-page of *B* (though for the device he substitutes a little sprig of three leaves), but he gives no modern title-page or date of publication and no annotation of any kind. Such comments as he saw fit to make on the *Paradise* are to be found on pages iv–vii of the "General Introduction" to the Blue Series, which is prefixed first to one, then to another, of the seven reprints, at the whim of the binder. These comments he supplemented, as a sort of afterthought, with a small slip (bound into the Harvard copy) containing a "Notice" in regard to the editions he followed. As usual, Collier was not altogether successful in reproducing his text; but, since his variants from *A* and *B* have no authority, it has seemed unnecessary to give a list of them. As the Blue Series was limited to fifty copies, Collier's reprint is now hard to find, and, when found, costs more than it is worth. It is less valuable for students than is the edition of Sir Egerton Brydges.

The present edition is the first to be based upon a study of the nine Elizabethan editions,[2] and the first in which every line of their poems is

[1] These gaps, which Collier indicates sparingly with square brackets, are at pp. 37–43, 86–95, 134–138, of his reprint.

[2] Mrs. C. C. Stopes had examined several of them before writing her paper on "The Paradyse of Daynty Deuises" (*Shakespeare's Industry*, 1916, pp. 277–290).

reprinted. It is, furthermore, the only critical edition; for neither Brydges nor Collier collated the texts or supplied annotations or illustrations. The trouble and expense involved in seeing the original texts have long been an effectual bar to editors. I have taken as my basic text the first edition (*A*), and have reprinted it entire, with the new poems of the later editions appended. In the Misprints and Variant Readings *A* is fully collated with every other edition, the new poems of *B* are collated with *C–I*, the new poems of *C* with *D–I*, and so on. Each edition, then, is in effect collated with every other.

A represents the manuscript collection of songs as Richard Edwards compiled it; hence, since it also contains thirteen poems, as well as ten lines (one on page 43 and nine on page 48) that appear in no later edition, to reprint it was imperative. After the publication of *A*, it seems likely, protests arose against certain lines that Edwards had, advertently or inadvertently, miscopied, and against certain false attributions of authorship. As a result, the printer Disle, we may suppose, made various changes in the edition of 1577 (*X*), now lost, and retained them in the edition of 1578 (*B*). The changes so introduced, especially those that concern the authorship of the poems, deserve careful consideration, and, representing as they do a genuine effort at revision, should in nearly every case be accepted. They are enumerated in the Misprints and Variant Readings, as well as in the Notes. The evidence of editions later than *B* is seldom of weight: occasionally they offer a plausible emendation of a word here or a word there, but, except for the new texts added, they have no real authority. Each subsequent edition, it will be observed, repeats errors from its predecessor or, not understanding them, gives readings that have no justification.

On the whole, *A* is carefully printed. Comparatively few misprints occur, and those few are usually inverted letters, especially *n* and *u*, which were more difficult to detect in black-letter than in roman type. The numbering of pages and poems, however, is somewhat confused. The first four poems seem to have been overlooked until the remainder of the text had already been set up: they have no numbers, and the pages on which they are printed bear neither pagination nor signature-marks. Page 9 of my edition is in the original marked "Fol. 1"; it has the signature A1, and the poems printed on it are numbered 1 and 2 respectively. From that point page-numbers are given consecutively as far as 32 (covering signatures A–D), and poem-numbers—with one exception, due to a misprint only—

run without break to 44. The numbering of the eight pages comprising signature E is disturbed, but from signature F onward the last forty-eight pages are, with one slight break, numbered consecutively. The signature-marks themselves are correct throughout. The last forty poems in the volume (Nos. 60–99 in my reprint), with three just preceding (Nos. 49, 50, 58), have no numbers at all; six poems have no titles, and on four pages there are no key-words.[1] I have renumbered the poems from beginning to end, as the brackets enclosing the figures and the entries in the Misprints and Variant Readings indicate. The original page-numbers, however, are kept at the top of the pages; my own are drop-folios enclosed in brackets. In the very middle of the book (at signature F) occurs a sharp change in typography which it was found impracticable to reproduce in the new text and which has already been described.[1]

In the text of the poems I have retained the italics of the original, but the black-letter type (with the key-words relating to it) is represented by roman and the roman by black-letter. Everywhere else (that is, in the title-page, dedication, headlines, titles of poems and the key-words relating to them, initial-letters, "finises," and signature-marks) the typography of the original is followed as closely as modern types permit; but except in the facsimile title-page the long *ſ* is always printed *s*.

A is reprinted line for line, page for page, as in the original; but in reproducing the additional poems from *B*, *C*, and *D* it has of course been impossible to keep either the numbering or the pagination of the originals. The poems themselves, however, are followed line for line, and are numbered continuously from the last poem in *A*. The order in which they occur in their respective editions, and the signatures on which they are printed, are indicated elsewhere in this Introduction and in the Notes.

The one hundred twenty-seven poems[2] reprinted from *A–D* are in every essential particular exactly reproduced. I have allowed all errors — except such unmistakable typographical blunders as inverted letters or faulty spacing between letters or words — to stand in the text, but have either included them in the Misprints and Variant Readings or corrected them (when I could) in the Notes. The original punctuation is retained, and, save in rare cases where it obscures the meaning, no attention is paid to it in the Notes. Square brackets, wherever they occur in my reprint, enclose editorial insertions; a glance at the Misprints or the Notes will

[1] Cf. the description of *A* on pp. xv f., above.

[2] Strictly, one hundred twenty-five: see p. xiii.

show the reading of the Elizabethan text and the reason for emendation. This nearly literal reproduction of the originals seems all the more imperative when it is recalled that, after long searching, I have been able to find only sixteen copies of the nine Elizabethan editions, and that these sixteen are distributed about equally between England and America. Since apparently no other student has seen and compared these editions, an almost exact reproduction of the texts is the only editorial method that can be justified. Line-numbers are inserted for convenience of reference; they are, of course, not in the originals.

IV. THE PRINTERS OF THE *PARADISE* (1576–1606)

Henry Disle,[1] or Disley, son of a London draper, John Disle, was apprenticed to the bookseller William Jones in midsummer, 1563, for a period of thirteen years. At the expiration of the apprenticeship, in 1576, he established himself in a shop at the Southwest Door of Saint Paul's Church, and signalized his freedom by the publication of *The Paradise of Dainty Devices*. In the epistle to Lord Compton which he prefixed to the book Disle explains that he had read the poems as assembled in manuscript by Richard Edwards and had found them worthy of printing. Friends also, he said, to whom he had shown the manuscript had urged him to publish it as a pious memorial to the dead English poets. Few publishers are either lucky or shrewd enough to begin their lists with a book so popular and so worth-while.

The Stationers' Register that covers the years from 1571 to July 17, 1576, is unhappily lost. Perhaps Disle's first edition was entered and licensed at Stationers' Hall before July 17, for it seems unlikely that he would have taken the risk of publishing so important a volume without permission. On December 3, 1576, he secured a license for printing a broadside epitaph on Sir Edward Saunders, and this he afterwards included in *X* and *B*. A poem which he himself wrote (No. 114) first appeared in *C* and was included in every later edition. Disle's imprint occurs on the editions of 1577, 1578, and 1580; but none of these volumes are entered in the Stationers' Register. On June 20, 1577, he was fined twenty

[1] The Bodleian copy of *B* bears on its title-page the following note, in an Elizabethan hand, on the etymology of the name: "Hen. Disle (de insula)." For Disle and the other printers mentioned in this section see R. B. McKerrow's *Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers*, Bibliographical Society, 1910.

shillings for printing a book 'unlawfully and unallowed,' — possibly the edition of 1577. When he reissued the *Paradise* in 1580 he had moved his shop into Cannon Lane, near the Great North Door of Saint Paul's Church. His last license for a book was entered in the Register on January 26, 1580; and he must have died shortly afterward, for on July 26, 1582, the following record was made by the Stationers' clerk:

Timothie Rider. Graunted vnto him by ye Assistantes A copie which perteined to Henry Disley Deceased: Intitled *A Paradyce of Daintie Devises*. . . . vi^{d}

Timothy Rider had been apprenticed to Richard Lynnell for seven years from February 2, 1564. He was made free of the Stationers' Company on March 21, 1571; on July 26, 1582, as just noticed, the copyright of the *Paradise* was transferred to him. No edition of it, so far as is known,[1] was published by him; and, though he lived till at least 1588, he had four years earlier, on April 11, 1584, assigned his rights in the book to Edward White. Rider was an unimportant bookseller who appears to have had no shop of his own.

Edward White, after serving for seven years as apprentice to William Lobley, made his first entry in the Stationers' Register on January 21, 1577, and was admitted to the livery of the Company on June 29, 1588. On April 6, 1584, Timothy Rider entered in the Register "A copie yat was henry disleys called *the widowes treasorer*. Provyded that he shall not alienate this copie without licence of the master wardens and assistantes. and that Robert walgraue shall printe it for him." These stipulations were binding also in the case of the *Paradise*, as is indicated by the entry in which Rider transferred his rights to White on April 11:

Edward white. Receaued of him for ij copies thone *the widowes treasoure*. thother *the paradice of Daintie Devises*. putt over vnto him from Tymothie Ryder. This is entred by the commaundement of master warden watkins in wryting vnder his hand. . . . xij^{d}.

Accordingly, in 1585 White's first edition (*D*) was printed for him by Robert Waldegrave. His next edition (*E*) appeared about 1590, and may also have been printed by Waldegrave, although the missing title-page prevents our knowing certainly. His edition of 1596 (*FG*) was printed by Edward Allde. No printer's name is given in White's editions of 1600 and 1606. In all the editions his book-shop is said to be at the Little North

[1] But see p. xxxi, above.

Door of St. Paul's Church, at the sign of the Gun. White died about January, 1613, and his business was continued by his widow Sarah. Her rights in the *Paradise* were handed down to her son Edward, who on December 13, 1620, assigned them to Thomas Pavier and John Wright. Mrs. Thomas Pavier delegated the share of "her late husband" in the *Paradise* to Edward Brewster and Robert Bird on August 4, 1626; and on April 29, 1634, Bird's share was transferred to John Wright, who now became the sole owner. At his death the ownership of the *Paradise* passed to his son, Edward Wright, by whom, on April 5, 1655, it was assigned to William Gilbertson. Presumably, however, the last edition printed was that of 1606.

V. THE CONTRIBUTORS TO THE *PARADISE*

The contributors to the earliest editions of the *Paradise* included most of the leading poets of the day, among them Edwards, Hunnis, Lord Vaux, the Earl of Oxford, Churchyard, Jasper Heywood, Francis Kinwelmarsh, and Whetstone. Certain poets now enveloped in obscurity were also represented, as Richard Hill, D. S., E. S., Master Bewe, Candish, Master Yloop, and R. D. The most noteworthy omissions are Turbervile, Thomas Howell, Gascoigne, Sidney, and Spenser. Later editions, being for the most part simply reprints, ceased to be representative of the poets. After 1585 the omission of such names as Peele, Greene, Lodge, Raleigh, and Shakespeare — to mention no others — must have attracted some attention, though it had no effect on the popularity and sale of the anthology. An alphabetical list of the authors, with an account of the poems attributed to them, follows. Where possible, brief biographical sketches, which make no claim to completeness or to originality, are added.

Anonymous

Seven poems are anonymous in all the editions of the *Paradise* in which they appear: Nos. 42 and 55 in *A–I;* 78 in *A;* 116 and 117 in *C;* 122 and 123 in *D–I*. The nine poems that follow are anonymous in one or more of the editions, but in others are assigned to various authors:

Nos. 6, 51, 52, 53 in *A*, assigned to Edwards in *B–I*.
No. 23 in *A*, assigned to Churchyard in *B–I*.
No. 39 in *A*, assigned to Marshall in *B*.
No. 57 in *B–I*, assigned to Edwards in *A*.

No. 64 in *A*, assigned to Hunnis in *B–I*.
No. 121 in *DE*, assigned to Bourchier in *F–I*.

Saint Barnard (Bernard)

This name was put among the authors on the title-page of *A* by the printer because the first poem in the book was entitled "The Translation of the blessed Saint Barnards Verses"; and from *A* it was repeated on the verso of every subsequent title-page. On the original Latin poem and its authorship see the Notes. In the *Paradise* the English translation is signed "My Luck is Loss," a pseudonym discussed later in this section.

M. B., or Master Bewe

Nos. 49 and 58, which appear in no edition later than *A*, are the only poems that with any degree of safety may be assigned to Master Bewe. Nos. 67, 73, and 82, which are given to him in *A*, are undoubtedly by Hunnis, Edwards, and Lord Oxford respectively, to whom they are attributed in *B–I*.

Mrs. Stopes has several times suggested — as in *Shakespeare's Industry*, page 283 — that *Bewe* is an anagram of *Webbe;* but this suggestion is not particularly helpful, for Webbe is as much of an obscurity as Bewe. William Webbe, the author of *A Discourse of English Poetrie* (1586), is out of the question: he himself mentions [1] as a distinguished Elizabethan poet one G. B. (George Bewe?), who may have been the Bewe of the *Paradise*. Bewe is not an unknown name. A William Bew, for example, contributed a few lines to *Jonsonus Virbius* in 1638.

Arthur Bourcher (Bourchier)

Only one poem is assigned to him, No. 121 in *F–I;* and even this is anonymous in *DE*.

Bourchier was a ballad-writer of whom little is known. One of his ballads has been preserved: "A worthy Myrrour, wherin ye may marke, An excellent discourse of a breeding Larke." It seems to have been registered for publication on January 25, 1577,[2] and is reprinted in the *Rox-*

[1] Gregory Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, 1, 245.

[2] Rollins, *Analytical Index*, No. 1772. See Robert Lemon's *Catalogue of a Collection of Printed Broadsides in the Possession of the Society of Antiquaries of London* (1866), p. 20.

burghe Ballads [1] and in J. P. Collier's *Old Ballads from Early Printed Copies*.[2] In these two reprints the author's name is abbreviated to "Arthur Bour." Another copy, which has no signature but which bears the date 1589 in its colophon, is reprinted in H. L. Collmann's *Ballads and Broadsides*.[3] A third copy, dating from the seventeenth century, is preserved in the British Museum.[4]

Joseph Ritson [5] long ago pointed out that Bourchier contributed a prefatory poem to Geoffrey Whitney's *A Choice of Emblemes* (1586).[6] It runs thus:

ARTHVR BOVRCHIER

To the Reader.

Perfection needes no other foyles, suche helpes comme out of place:
For where it selfe, can grace it selfe, there needes no other grace.
Why should I then my fruiteles praise on Whitneys *worke bestowe,*
Where wisdome, learninge, and deuise, so perfectly doe flowe.
Yet gentle Reader by thy leaue, thus muche I mente to wrighte,
As one that honours these his giftes, but seekes them not t'indighte.
No longe discourse, no tedious tale, I purpos'de am to tell:
Lest thou shouldst saye, where is the nutte, you feede me with the shell.
Goe forwarde then in happie time, and thou shalt surely finde,
With coste, and labour well set out, a banquet for thy minde.
A storehouse for thy wise conceiptes, a whetstone for thy witte:
Where, eache man maye with daintie choice his fancies finely fitte.
Giue Whitney *then thy good report, since hee deserues the same:*
Lest that the wise that see thee coye, thy follie iustly blame.

Furthermore, though Ritson failed to observe it, one of Whitney's emblems,[7] "*Auaritia huius sæculi*," is addressed "*To* Arthvre Bovrchier *Esquier*."

[1] III, 87.
[2] Page 92 (Percy Society, 1840).
[3] No. 10.
[4] Cf. *Roxburghe Ballads*, III, 86.
[5] *Bibliographia Poetica* (1802), p. 137.
[6] Henry Green, editing the book in 1866, remarked (p. 386): "The name [Bourchier] was one of renown, for Thomas Bourchier, cardinal-archbishop of Canterbury, is said to have introduced printing into England, and John Bourchier, who was chancellor of the exchequer to Henry VIII., translated *La Chronique* of Froissart."
[7] Page 204.

Candish (Cavendish)

One poem, No. 115, is assigned to Candish in every edition in which it appears (*C–I*).

Nothing is known of this author. I see no reason for identifying him — as Brydges tries to do in his edition of the *Paradise*, page xviii — with Richard Cavendish the mathematician, or, as Farr does, with Thomas Cavendish the navigator.[1]

Thomas Churchyard

One poem, No. 23 (= No. 101), which is anonymous in *A*, is in *B–I* lengthened by two stanzas and attributed to Churchyard.

Churchyard was born at Shrewsbury about 1520. As a youth he served in the household of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, from whom he derived most of his poetical inspiration. Beginning to write in the reign of Edward VI, he continued until his death in 1604, thus setting a record for sustained poetical powers (such as they were) that in English literature is perhaps surpassed only by that of Walter Savage Landor. His earliest extant work, *A Mirror for Man*, was printed in Edward's reign, as were also the ballads that carried on his flyting with Thomas Camell and that are reprinted in H. L. Collmann's *Ballads and Broadsides*.[2] Churchyard himself collected these ballads, and printed them in pamphlet form in 1560 as *The Contention betwyxte Churchyeard and Camell.* The pamphlet was reissued in 1565.

Churchyard also contributed to the 1563 edition of the *Mirror for Magistrates* the tragedy of *Shore's Wife* (written in Edward VI's reign), which found many admirers among his contemporaries. His contributions to Tottel's *Miscellany* cannot now be identified, but one poem in *A Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions* is known to be from his pen.[3] He was also the author of numerous books, the best known of which are, to give brief titles, *Churchyard's Chips* (1575), *Churchyard's Choice* (1579), *Churchyard's Chance* (1580), *Churchyard's Charge* (1580), and *The Worthiness of Wales* (1587). His last work, *Churchyard's Good Will*, appeared in 1604, and is reprinted in the second series of Henry Huth's *Fugitive Tracts*.

[1] Edward Farr, *Select Poetry*, I (1845), xxvii: "Candish. Probably Thomas Cavendish, Esq. the celebrated navigator."

[2] Nos. 19–25.

[3] Ed. Rollins, pp. 57, 172.

For many years Churchyard served in the army, at home as well as in Scotland, Ireland, France, and the Low Countries. He was buried at St. Margaret's, Westminster, on April 4, 1604.[1] There is a sketch of him in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, but the best account of his life and works is that given by Henry W. Adnitt in *Transactions of the Shropshire Archæological and Natural History Society*, III (1880), 1–68. His poems are always smooth and pleasant-sounding, although they abound in rhetorical devices and frigid conceits. See the discussion in W. J. Courthope's *History of English Poetry*, II (1897), 165–167.

H. D.

One poem, No. 114, is assigned to H. D. in every edition in which it occurs (*C–I*). Beyond much question, H. D. are the initials of Henry Disle, the printer of the early editions of the *Paradise*. He is discussed on page xl, above.

M. D.

One poem, No. 26, is assigned to M. D. in every edition (*A–I*). M. D. is mentioned along with Edwards, Churchyard, Hunnis, Jasper Heywood, Sand, Hill, and S. Y. (Yloop?) in William Webbe's *Discourse of English Poetrie* (1586);[2] but Webbe was obviously writing with his eye on the *Paradise* and probably did not know the identity of M. D. The initials could be those of Master (afterwards Sir Edward) Dyer,[3] who by 1580 had attained considerable prominence as a poet; but in my opinion it is safer to identify M. D. with the R. D. who is discussed below.

R. D.

One poem, No. 15, is assigned to R. D. in every edition (*A–I*).

R. D. is perhaps identical with M. D. (Master D——), who is dis-

[1] The following bit of gossip about Churchyard (as told in *Letters of Philip Gawdy*, ed. I. H. Jeayes, pp. 144–145, Roxburghe Club, 1906) seems to have been overlooked by his biographers:

> M[r] Churchyarde the poett is lately deade, and not paste a fortnight before his deathe being in a payre of loose gascougnes [= galligaskins], being harde by the maydes of honor he shott of his peece, and all the powder rann downe vppon his stockings, dryue away the maydes and all the company, and was faynt [fain] to be carryed out.

Gawdy's letter is dated April 6, 1604.

[2] Gregory Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, I, 242.

[3] No. 26 is reprinted among the works of Dyer in Grosart's *Miscellanies of the Fuller Worthies' Library*, IV, 286–287.

cussed above. No satisfactory explanation of these initials is possible, but a ballad-writer who signed himself "R. D." is known. One of his productions, dated 1584, is reprinted in my *Old English Ballads*, page 245; another, "An Epitaph vpon the death of Richard Price Esquier" (1586), in H. L. Collmann's *Ballads and Broadsides*, No. 34. With the same initials, Collmann notes, are signed two poetical pamphlets, *An Exhortation to England, to ioine for defense of true Religion and their natiue Countrie* (1568), and *A true Report of the generall Imbarrement of all the English Shippes, vnder the dominion of the kinge of Spaine* (1585). Brydges, in his edition of the *Paradise* (pages xvii, xviii), suggests that R. D. was "perhaps Robert Dillington, who has commendatory verses prefixed to Lewkenor's *Resolved Gentleman*, 1599"; but it seems wiser to attempt no identification.

Richard Edwards (R. E. or M. E.)

Thirteen poems are assigned to Edwards (sometimes under the initials R. E. or M. E.) in all the editions in which they appear: Nos. 7, 24, 31, 32, 33, 46, 62, 66, and 69 in *A–I;* Nos. 104 and 109 in *B–I;* No. 119 in *C;* and No. 125 in *D–I*. Seven other poems are attributed to him in one or more of the editions:

Nos. 6, 51, 52, 53 in *B–I*, anonymous in *A*.
No. 54 in *B–I*, assigned to F.M. in *A*.
No. 57 in *A*, anonymous in *B–I*.
No. 73 in *B–I*, assigned to M.B. in *A*.

All of these seven were very probably written by Edwards. Even No. 57, the only one about which there can be dispute, seems on the evidence of style to belong to him.

Richard Edwards, the original compiler of the *Paradise* and one of its leading contributors, was born in Somersetshire about 1523. He entered Corpus Christi College, Oxford, on May 11, 1540, was elected to a fellowship there after he had taken his B.A. degree in 1544, and in 1547 became Senior Student at Christ Church College. At Oxford he studied music under George Etheridge.

As "a slender tall young man" — in the phrase of No. 7, below — Edwards departed with his father's blessing to seek his fortune at the Court. Evidently he succeeded at once, for under King Edward VI he had

a fee or annuity of £6 13*s.* 4*d.*[1] At the coronation of Queen Mary in 1553 he received his livery as gentleman of the Chapel Royal;[2] and in that capacity, on January 1, 1556/7, he made her a New Year's gift of "certain verses."[3] By royal patent, dated May 27, 1560, he was confirmed in office; and about a year later, on October 27, 1561, he received a patent appointing him successor to Richard Bower as Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal.[4]

Under Edwards's direction the children performed various plays at Court, among them his *Damon and Pythias*, which they acted before the Queen at Whitehall on Christmas Day, 1564. Other performances by the children are recorded at Lincoln's Inn in February, 1565, and February, 1566, — a matter of some interest, since on November 25, 1564, Edwards had been admitted to membership in that Inn. In 1566 Edwards attended the Queen on her progress to Oxford, where for her entertainment his play of *Palamon and Arcite*, now lost, was performed in Christ Church Hall.[5] He died on October 31, 1566, and was succeeded in the Chapel Royal by William Hunnis.[6]

Damon and Pythias, his only extant drama and the first English tragicomedy, gave him among his contemporaries a great reputation as a playwright. "This fine old tale out of Syracusan history," says Professor Wallace,[7] "with its tragic and comic elements happily mingled in a rising tide of suspense to the climax, as presented by Edwards, formed the high-water mark of English drama up to that time." As late as 1598 Francis Meres, in *Palladis Tamia*,[8] named "Maister Edwardes one of her Maiesties Chappell," along with the Earl of Oxford, Shakespeare, and others, as "the best for Comedy amongst vs." Furthermore, in *A Poor Knight his*

[1] Mrs. Stopes, *William Hunnis* (1910), p. 147.

[2] W. H. Grattan Flood, *Early Tudor Composers* (1925), p. 114.

[3] John Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, I (1823), xxxv, note.

[4] C. W. Wallace, *The Evolution of the English Drama up to Shakespeare* (1912), p. 106; *The Children of the Chapel at Blackfriars, 1597–1603* (1908), pp. 64–65.

[5] Wallace, *Evolution of the English Drama*, pp. 110 ff.; Richard Stephens's *Brief Rehearsall*, in *Elizabethan Oxford*, ed. C. Plummer, pp. 200 ff. (Oxford Historical Society, 1887).

[6] *The Old Cheque-Book, or Book of Remembrance, of the Chapel Royal*, ed. E. F. Rimbault, pp. 1–2, 5 (Camden Society, 1872).

[7] *Evolution of the English Drama*, p. 110.

[8] *Shakspere Allusion-Books*, I, 161 (New Shakspere Society, 1874). Cf. Puttenham, as cited on p. lix, below.

Palace of Private Pleasures, 1579, $C3^{v}$, the author tells of a dream in which he saw various poets serving a banquet to the gods, and his list includes Homer, Hesiod, Euripides, Virgil, Ovid, Chaucer, Gower, Skelton, "And *Edwards* hee, who while hee liude, did sit in chaire of fame." Equally flattering were the eulogy by Barnabe Googe in his *Eglogs* (1563), and the elegies by George Turbervile and Thomas Twyne that appeared in Turbervile's *Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songs and Sonets* (1567). A long passage about him occurs in 'Claudius Hollyband's' *Frenche Schoole-maister* (1573),[1] where one speaker remarks of Edwards's death, "Truelie it is pitie: he was a man of a good wit, and a good poete: and a great player of playes."

The lyrics of Edwards are far from contemptible, as those in the *Paradise* show. Four other poems attributed to him are preserved in Cotton MS. Titus A. xxiv; one of them, "The Soul Knell,"[2] is reprinted in *Modern Language Notes;*[3] another, "The prayse of eight Ladyes of Queen Elizabeth's Court," in Thomas Park's *Nugæ Antiquæ*.[4]

For a further discussion of Edwards's life and works Thomas Warton's *History of English Poetry*[5] and the *Dictionary of National Biography* should be consulted; but the most valuable accounts are in two articles by W. Y. Durand[6] and in Professor Wallace's *Evolution of the English Stage*.[7]

In his dedicatory letter to Lord Compton, Henry Disle says that the first edition of the *Paradise* represents a manuscript compilation made by Edwards. If his remark be interpreted literally, then none of the poems in the 1576 edition can be later in date than 1566. Whether or not Edwards, instead of the printer, was responsible for the signatures to the various poems it is difficult to determine; in any case, publication served to bring to light the real names or initials of their authors, so that in later editions many changes of attribution were made.

[1] M. St. Clare Byrne, *The Elizabethan Home* (1925), pp. 37–38.

[2] "What!" exclaims George Gascoigne, in *The Posies*, 1575 (*Complete Poems*, ed. Hazlitt, I, 9), "should I stand much in rehersall how the *L. Vaux* his dittie (beginning thus: *I loth that I did loue*) was thought by some to be made vpō his death bed? and that the Soulknill of M. Edwards was also written in extremitie of sicknesse?"

[3] xxiii (1908), 130.

[4] ii (1804), 392–394.

[5] iii (1781), 283–297.

[6] "Notes on Richard Edwards," *Journal of Germanic Philology*, iv (1902), 348–369; "Some Errors concerning Richard Edwards," *Modern Language Notes*, xxiii (1908), 129–131.

[7] Pages 106–115.

Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex

One poem, No. 98, is in the titles of *F–I* said to be "sung by" the Earl of Essex; in *D* the title says the same thing, but at the end the poem is assigned to Francis Kinwelmarsh; in *A–C* it is signed Kinwelmarsh but has nothing about Essex in the title. That Kinwelmarsh, and not Essex, wrote the poem is my opinion, as is sufficiently indicated in the notes to No. 98.

F. G.

One poem, No. 28, is attributed to F. G. in every edition (*A–I*). Perhaps these initials were intended to represent Sir Fulke Greville, first Lord Brooke (1554–1628), the friend and biographer of Sir Philip Sidney; but there is no evidence to support such an identification.[1]

G. G. (G. Gask, or Gaske)

One poem, No. 118, is attributed to G. G., or G. Gask(e), in every edition in which it appears (*C–I*). These signatures were no doubt intended to represent George Gascoigne. No. 118 was, however, written by George Whetstone; and, as the discussion at page lvi below will prove, there is no good reason for identifying the signature of "My Luck is Loss" with Gascoigne. Apparently, then, Gascoigne has no authentic poems in the *Paradise*, a striking fact when it is recalled that in 1576, and even later, he was one of the most important poets in England.

John Harington

Harington's name does not appear in the *Paradise*. Just possibly he may have been the author of Nos. 17 and 47, which in *A–I* are assigned respectively to Lord Vaux and D. S. See the notes on these poems.

The dates of Harington's birth and death are unknown. He served Henry VIII in some capacity, and in 1546 married Henry's natural daughter, Ethelreda Dyngley (or Dobson). In a short time she died, leaving him her dower-lands, whereupon he married Isabella Markham (1554), one of the Princess Elizabeth's gentlewomen. For their loyal services to Elizabeth he and his wife were sent to the Tower when the

[1] Morris W. Croll, *The Works of Fulke Greville* (1903), p. 4, declares: "The poem beginning 'In youth when I at large did leade,' published in *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* (1578) and signed 'F. G.,' is certainly not by Greville."

princess was imprisoned, and some of his verses were written during his incarceration. His poems are preserved in *Nugæ Antiquæ*, edited by Henry Harington in 1769, 1779, 1792, and by Thomas Park in 1804.

Jasper Heywood (I. H. or J. H.)

Eight poems are attributed to Heywood in all the editions in which they appear: Nos. 10, 12, 95, and 96 in *A–I;* No. 100 in *B–I;* and Nos. 124, 126, and 127 in *D–I*. He is, then, one of the very few contributors to the *Paradise* whose authorship is unchallenged.

Son of John Heywood, — the celebrated writer of proverbs and interludes, — Jasper was born at London in 1535. During his early childhood he served as a page to the Princess Elizabeth, but at the age of twelve entered the University of Oxford, where he proceeded to the degrees of B.A. in 1553, M.A. in 1558. In 1554 he was elected to a probationary fellowship in Merton College, but resigned it in April, 1558. In the following November he became fellow of All Souls' College, but in consequence of his refusal to abjure the Roman Catholic religion he was soon forced to resign. Shortly afterwards Heywood went to Rome, where in 1562 he was admitted to the Society of Jesus. For seventeen years he was professor of moral theology and controversy in the Jesuit College at Dillingen, Bavaria; in 1570 he became a professed father of the Jesuit order.

In 1581 Heywood returned to England at the head of a Jesuit mission. Late in 1583 he was arrested, imprisoned, and several times examined by the Privy Council, which, it was reported, offered him a bishopric if he would conform to the Established Church. On February 5, 1584, he with five other priests was arraigned in Westminster Hall. The five priests were condemned for high treason and executed; but Heywood was withdrawn, taken to the Tower, and held prisoner for over a year. In January, 1585, he was deported to France and ordered not to reënter England on penalty of death. He found a refuge in the Jesuit college at Dôle, whence in 1589 he was sent to Rome and eventually to Naples, where he died on January 9, 1598.

Heywood is now best known for his translations of Seneca's *Troas* (1559), *Thyestes* (1560), and *Hercules Furens* (1561), which, with an exhaustive account of Heywood himself, were edited in 1913 by H. de Vocht in Willy Bang's *Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas*, volume xli. Except for the original verses that accompany these translations, in way of dedication, preface, or additions to the text itself,

Heywood's contributions to the *Paradise* seem to be the only poems of his own composition that have survived.

Richard Hill (R. H.)

Seven poems are attributed to Richard Hill in all the editions in which they appear: Nos. 36, 68, and 97 in *A;* Nos. 14, 34, 35, and 79 in *A–I.* Like Heywood's contributions, then, Hill's are undisputed; but, as the notes to No. 79 will show, in several editions either his name is misspelled or else the wrong initial is given him.

Nothing is known of this author, apart from the fact that he is mentioned in Webbe's *Discourse of English Poetrie* (1586)[1] in good company, — Lord Surrey, Lord Vaux, "*Norton* of *Bristow*, *Edwardes*, *Tusser*, *Churchyard*, *Wyl. Hunnis*, *Haiwood*, *Sand*, *Hyll*, *S.Y.*, *M.D.*, and many others." It would be pleasant if some connection could be proved between him and the Richard Hill whose commonplace-book (Balliol MS. 354) of ballads and other poems, dating about 1536, was edited by Roman Dyboski for the Early English Text Society in 1907.

William Hunnis (W. H. or M. H.)

Fourteen poems are assigned to Hunnis in all the editions in which they appear: Nos. 61 and 70 in *A;* Nos. 59, 60, 63, 65, and 72 in *A–I;* Nos. 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 111, and 112 in *B–I.* No. 61, as a matter of fact, was written by Sir Thomas Wyatt; but, even when it is deducted, Hunnis's total number of poems is greater than that of any other contributor to the *Paradise* except Edwards. Seven additional poems are assigned to him in one or more of the editions, but in other editions are attributed to different authors:

No. 4 in *D–I*, assigned to E. S. in *A*, to W. R. in *BC*.
No. 5 in *B–I*, assigned to D. S. in *A*.
No. 48 in *B–I*, assigned to Lord Vaux in *A*.
No. 64 in *B–I*, anonymous in *A*.
No. 67 in *B–I*, assigned to M.B. in *A*.
No. 88 in *B–G*, assigned to Lord Vaux in *A*, anonymous in *HI*.
No. 94 in *B–I*, assigned to T. M(arshall). in *A*.

Probably all seven of these poems were actually the work of Hunnis.

[1] Gregory Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, I, 242.

When William Hunnis was born is unknown; but he was described in Thomas Newton's lines prefixed to *A Hive Full of Honey* (1578), two years after the first edition of the *Paradise* had appeared, as "in winter of thine age." On the title-page of his first publication, *Certayne Psalmes* (1550), he is called "servant" to Sir William Herbert, afterwards the Earl of Pembroke. Some three years later he appears among the Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal; and in 1556, for conspiracy against Queen Mary, he was imprisoned in the Tower of London. Through this calamity his position in the Chapel Royal was, of course, lost; but it was probably restored to him soon after the accession of Elizabeth, for his name occurs in the Cheque Book of the Chapel in 1561. Meanwhile, in 1559, he had married Margaret, the widow of his old friend Nicholas Brigham,—Teller of the Exchequer and so-called founder of the Poets' Corner in the Abbey,—thus acquiring a life-interest in the almonry at Westminster. His wife died before October 12, 1559, and about 1560 Hunnis married again, this time Agnes Blanck, the widow of a grocer. He took up his freedom in the Company of Grocers, conducted a shop in Southwark, and was elected to the livery of the company in May, 1567; but by 1586 his name had disappeared from its records. He had at least one son, Robin (or Robert), who served as page to Walter Devereux, first Earl of Essex, in Ireland, and who is said to have tasted the poison with which, it was alleged, Essex was killed in 1576.[1] In consequence Robin himself was "like to have lost his lyfe, but escaped in the end (being yong) wyth the losse only of his heare." Whatever be the truth of this tale, he served under the Earl of Leicester from 1579 to 1583 as Rider of the Stable, and in other capacities until 1593.

In 1562 William Hunnis was appointed Keeper of the Orchard and Gardens at Greenwich, an office which he held until his death. On November 15, 1566, he succeeded Richard Edwards, his celebrated fellow-contributor to the *Paradise*, as Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal. In 1570 the Queen recommended to the City of London that he be appointed Taker of Tolls and Dues on London Bridge, and his claim was bought off for £40.

Among other publications, Hunnis was the author of *A Hive Full of Honey* (1578), *A Handful of Honeysuckles* (1578), *Seven Sobs of a Sorrowful Soul for Sin* (1583), and *Hunnies Recreations* (1588). Mrs. Stopes at-

[1] See the notes to No. 98 (95.13).

tributes to him the play of *Jacob and Esau*, and perhaps that of *Godly Queen Hester*, as well as one poem in *A Handful of Pleasant Delights* (1584) and two poems in *England's Helicon* (1600). In 1583 Hunnis called the attention of the Queen to the poor pay allowed him as Master of the Chapel Royal; in 1585 he received various grants of land in Essex, Hertford, and elsewhere. He died on June 6, 1597.

The ultimate authority on the life and works of Hunnis is Mrs. C. C. Stopes, whose volume called *William Hunnis and the Revels of the Chapel Royal* was printed, in 1910, in Willy Bang's *Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas*, volume xxix.

Francis Kindlemarsh, or Kinwelmarsh (F. K. or M. K.)

Nine poems are assigned to Francis Kinwelmarsh in all the editions (*A–I*): Nos. 9, 11, 13, 18, 19, 21, 40, 41, and 75. No. 98 is ascribed to him in *A–C*, to the Earl of Essex in *F–I*, and to both in *D*. It is torn out of *E*. That Kinwelmarsh was the author of No. 98 seems to me certain.

Francis Kinwelmarsh perhaps came from an Essex family, — his father may have been the Richard Kinwelmarsh who in 1562 held the manor of Newton Hall near Great Dunmow, — but he was born in London. Mrs. Stopes, in *Shakespeare's Industry*, page 283, points out that in the register of Allhallows, London, the very first entry is: "Imprimis, the 18th day of Oct. 1538, was christened Frances the sonne of Richard Kyndelmershe," and that in the same register occur also the names of Mary and Marcion, daughter and son of Edmond Kynwelmarsh, who were christened on March 26, 1557, and September 12, 1558, respectively.

In 1557 Francis entered Gray's Inn, where he was followed in 1561 and 1563 by Anthony and Robert Kinwelmarsh, probably his brothers. Francis was a fellow-student at Gray's Inn with Gascoigne, with whom he collaborated in the translation of the *Phœnissæ* of Euripides in 1566. This blank-verse play, *Jocasta*, was performed in Gray's Inn Hall in 1566. On "themes" suggested by Francis and Anthony Kinwelmarsh, Gascoigne wrote two poems.[1] Kinwelmarsh was elected M.P. for Bossiney, Cornwall, on April 27, 1572, the same year in which Gascoigne was elected for Midhurst. He is referred to in complimentary terms in William Webbe's *Discourse of English Poetrie* (1586);[2] and in John Boden-

[1] See his *Complete Poems*, ed. Hazlitt, I, 63–65.

[2] Gregory Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, I, 245.

ham's *Belvedere, or the Garden of the Muses* (1600), he is one of the deceased authors to whom the compiler gave his "due right."

R. L.

One poem, No. 93, is assigned to R. L. in all the editions (*A–I*). In his edition of the *Paradise*, page xviii, Brydges suggests an identification of this author with the R. L. — now known to be Richard Linche, or Lynche — who wrote *Diella. Certain Sonnets, adjoined to the amorous Poem of Dom Diego and Gyneura* (1596).[1] As Linche's acknowledged works date about 1596–1601, it seems doubtful that this poem of 1576 should have been written by him.

Lodowick Lloyd

One poem, No. 103, is assigned to Lloyd in every edition in which it occurs (*B–I*).

Lodowick (or Ludovic, or Lewis) Lloyd, poet and compiler, flourished from 1573 to 1610. He was sergeant at arms to Queen Elizabeth and perhaps to James I. Among his more elaborate productions were *The Pilgrimage of Princes* (1573); *Certain English Verses, Presented unto the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty* (1586);[2] *The Consent of Time, Deciphering the Errors of the Grecians in Their Olympiads* (1590); *The Stratagems of Jerusalem* (1602); *The Practice of Policy* (1604); *The Choice of Jewels* (1607); and *The Tragicomedy of Serpents* (1607). Lloyd also wrote "A Dittie to the tune of Welshe Sydanen, made to the Queenes maj.' Eliz.," a ballad registered on August 13, 1579,[3] and reprinted in *The British Bibliographer*.[4] The one poem which he contributed to the *Paradise* had been published previously in broadside form. It is very likely, then, that Lloyd had written other ballads as well.

F. M.

One poem, No. 27, is assigned to F. M. in every edition (*A–I*). Another, No. 54, is attributed to him in *A* but to Edwards in *B–I*. To Edwards No. 54 undoubtedly belongs.

[1] Reprinted in part by Sir Sidney Lee, *Elizabethan Sonnets*, II, 297 ff., and entirely by Edward Arber, *An English Garner*, VII (1883), 185–240.

[2] Reprinted in Huth's *Fugitive Tracts*, First Series.

[3] Rollins, *Analytical Index*, No. 249.

[4] I (1810), 338.

T. Marshall (T. M.)

One poem, No. 39, which is anonymous in *A*, is ascribed to Marshall in *B*. Another, No. 94, which is assigned to him in *A*, is credited to Hunnis in *B–I;* and to Hunnis it unquestionably belongs. Nothing is known of this author, unless he wrote the ballad of "Sad Marshall to the Singing Larke,"[1] which is signed "Finis, quod Marshal." Ritson[2] says that "Marshall dye'd in 1589," but cites no authority for his statement.

My Luck is Loss

Five poems, Nos. 1, 2, 43, 44, and 45, are in all the editions signed "My Luck is Loss."

An attempt has been made to identify "My Luck is Loss," as well as G.G., or G. Gaske, with George Gascoigne. In *The Complete Poems of George Gascoigne* (I, xxix), Hazlitt remarks:

> In the "Paradyce of Daynty Deuyses," 1576, are six poems of a moral cast in Gascoigne's didactic style, five with the motto "My lucke is losse," and one unsigned,[3] and . . . these were repeated in all the later impressions of the volume which I have seen. . . . Again, in the edition of the "Paradise," published in 1580, a poem [No. 118] entitled "A Description of the Whole [*sic*] World," is signed "G. G." initials which, in the edition of 1600, according to Ritson, are amplified into "G. Gaske." . . .
>
> Gascoigne's constant allusions in his "Posies" to the faithlessness of Cressida, and the similarity of manner and treatment, combined to induce me to admit two other contributions [Nos. 116, 117] to the "Paradise of Dainty Devises," edit. 1580, subscribed respectively "Troilus" and "Cressida."
>
> It is possible that these two poems, and "A Description of the World," were discovered among the poet's papers after his decease, or were floating on the surface of society, forgotten and unappropriated.

Since, however, Hazlitt has produced no valid arguments, none of the poems he cites can logically be claimed for Gascoigne. No. 118 is, as the Notes below will show, by George Whetstone; and Troilus and Cressida were such stock subjects, such favorite themes for all the Elizabethan poets, that Hazlitt's remarks on the authorship of Nos. 116 and 117 can-

[1] *Roxburghe Ballads*, III, 190.

[2] *Bibliographia Poetica*, p. 277.

[3] What poem this was cannot be told, for Hazlitt did not reprint it and gave no further reference to it. He reprints (II, 323–335) only the eight poems he describes.

not be taken seriously. In support of his identification of "My Luck is Loss" with Gascoigne, Hazlitt (I, 485) refers only to *The pleasant Fable of Ferdinando Ieronimi*, where Gascoigne writes:

> And so did I in vaine;
> But since it maie not be,
> Let such fishe there as finde the gaine,
> And leaue the losse for me.
>
> And with such lucke and losse
> I will content my selfe;
> Till tydes of turning time maye tosse
> Suche fishers on the shelfe.

This reference is a flimsy proof of authorship. The phrase "My Luck is Loss" was, indeed, more or less proverbial, and many other uses of it are far more striking than that of Gascoigne. Thus, in the *Paradise* itself Barnabe Rich (No. 120) says,

> Thy luck is losse, thy fortune still withstoode.

Humfrey Gifford, in "A Complaynt of a Louer," printed in *A Posie of Gilloflowers* (1580),[1] writes, "My lucke is turnde to losse." In George Peele's *Arraignment of Paris* (1584)[2] Oenone (III. i) sighs,

> And woe is me, my luck is loss, my pains no pity move;

while Paris (IV. i) soliloquizes ruefully,

> My luck is loss, howe'er my love do speed.

There is, then, no reason at all to justify connecting Gascoigne with the signature "My Luck is Loss" or with Nos. 116, 117, 118. In May, 1572, various charges of ill-conduct had been preferred against him to prevent his being seated in Parliament. He was called "a common rymer and a deviser of slaunderous pasquelles againste diverse personnes of greate callinge," "a notorious ruffianne," "a spie, an atheist, and godlesse personne."[3] Perhaps it was these charges, however just or unjust they may have been, that kept Gascoigne's name and poems out of the *Paradise*. On any other assumption their omission is almost inexplicable.

[1] *Complete Poems*, ed. Grosart, p. 89.
[2] *Works*, ed. Bullen, I, 38, 61.
[3] Quoted in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1851, pt. II, 243 f.

Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford (E.O., L.O., or E.Ox.)

Seven poems are assigned to Edward de Vere, seventeenth Earl of Oxford, in all the editions in which they appear: Nos. 30, 77, 83, and 84 in *A–I;* Nos. 76 and 86 in *A;* and No. 85 in *A–C*. He was also probably the author of No. 82, which is attributed to him in *B–I* but to M. B. (Bewe) in *A*.[1]

Born on April 2, 1550, Edward de Vere succeeded to the earldom and to other hereditary dignities, including the office of lord great chamberlain, in 1562. As a boy he held a prominent place in the Court, and attended the Queen on her progress to Oxford in 1566, where he must have witnessed the performance of Richard Edwards's *Palamon and Arcite* which was given in her honor. In 1571 he entered the House of Lords, and in December of the same year married the eldest daughter of William Cecil, Lord Burghley. Oxford was an ill-tempered, violent man. He treated his wife with downright cruelty; he insulted Sir Philip Sidney, caused him to be banished from Court, and (at least according to popular rumor) planned to murder him. In 1586 Oxford was appointed special commissioner for the trial of Mary Queen of Scots. In 1588 he served as a volunteer against the Spanish Armada. Though he squandered his fortune and sold his ancestral estates, Oxford not infrequently extended his patronage to various men of letters, especially to those of the Bohemian type. Lyly dedicated to him *Euphues and his England* (1580); Spenser addressed a sonnet to him in the *Faery Queen* (1590); and many minor authors claimed him as their patron. Most of his life after 1592 was spent in retirement, with occasional public appearances, as at the trial of Essex in 1601 and the coronation of James I in 1603. He died on June 24, 1604.

Twenty-two of Oxford's poems are scattered through the *Paradise*, the surreptitious edition of Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella* (1591), *The Phœnix Nest* (1593), *England's Helicon* (1600), and *England's Parnassus* (1600); they have been collected and reprinted in volume IV of Grosart's *Miscellanies of the Fuller Worthies' Library* (1872). Among his contemporaries Oxford had a great reputation as a poet. William Webbe[2] remarked that, of those who "haue beene and yet are most excellent skylfull" in poetry,

[1] All eight of these poems are reprinted in A. B. Grosart's *Miscellanies of the Fuller Worthies' Library*, vol. IV (1872), and in the work of Looney discussed below.

[2] *A Discourse of English Poetrie*, 1586 (Gregory Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, I, 243).

"the right honourable Earle of *Oxford* may challenge to him selfe the tytle of the most excellent among the rest"; while Puttenham [1] declared that, "for Comedy and Enterlude," these two "do deserue the hyest price: Th' Earle of Oxford and Maister *Edwardes*."

It hardly seems worth while to pay much attention to Mr. J. Thomas Looney's *Poems of Edward de Vere Seventeenth Earl of Oxford* (1921), the sole purpose of which is to strengthen his theory, formally advanced in his "*Shakespeare*" *Identified* (1920), that Oxford and "Shakespeare" (a different being from 'the Stratford man Shakspere') were one and the same poet. Much of the "proof" for this strange identification is based upon the *Paradise*, but Mr. Looney's statements reveal little familiarity either with the poetical miscellanies in general or with Elizabethan publishing conditions. Thus he says (page lii) that the *Paradise* "would seem . . . to have been published at his [Oxford's] suggestion," and that the title "is indicative of Oxford's faculty for striking new notes." Now, there is no indication whatever, and certainly no proof, that Oxford had anything to do with the publication of the *Paradise;* it was a strictly commercial venture undertaken by a printer and dedicated to Lord Compton (hardly an act of which the noble Earl would have approved). With the title, in which I fail to hear a note particularly new, no person except the printer was concerned, as its language plainly shows. Disle wrote the title-page primarily to feature a dead poet, not to glorify living authors; and beyond question he made it as attractive as possible so that it would be effective as an advertising poster.

To assert, as Mr. Looney does (page lxii), that Oxford "published his poems *voluntarily* [*sic*] in 1576" is to fly in the face of known facts; and to say (page xliii) that most of his poems "refer to the special events" of 1576 is an assertion that cannot be established. Indeed, if Edwards collected the poems — and Disle plainly says that he did — then all of them must have been written by 1566. It is certain that, if Oxford had supervised, or even merely permitted, the publication, No. 82 would not have been assigned to M. B. in the first edition. Furthermore, the *Paradise* was not "the first of a numerous series of collections of poetry in which Elizabethan verse has been preserved" (page xliv). If one excepts from consideration Tottel's *Miscellany* (1557) and *The Court of Venus* (1557?) [2]

[1] *The Arte of English Poesie*, 1589 (*ibid.*, II, 65). Cf. Francis Meres above, p. xlviii.

[2] See Mrs. Stopes, *Shakespeare's Industry*, pp. 305ff.

because they were not strictly Elizabethan,[1] still the *Paradise* was preceded by the first edition (1566) of *A Handful of Pleasant Delights* (of which an eight-page fragment is in existence),[2] as well as by the "collections of poetry" of Thomas Howell, George Turbervile, and many others. It is preposterous to call Oxford "the original and driving force of early Elizabethan song." Edwards and Hunnis — if the claims of Wyatt and Surrey be ignored — have far greater right to that distinction; nor can Turbervile and Gascoigne be overlooked.

The verbal parallels between Oxford's *Paradise* poems and Shakespeare's works which Mr. Looney painstakingly amasses are, on the whole, mere commonplaces, often straight-out proverbs, that could be vastly increased in bulk by a person familiar with Elizabethan poetry.[3] They prove nothing except that Shakespeare and Oxford, like all other Elizabethans, indulged in the use of fashionable commonplaces and figures.

W. R.

One poem, No. 4, is attributed to W. R. in *BC*, but in *A* it is assigned to E. S. and in *D–I* to Hunnis. The initials might be interpreted as those of William Rankins (fl. 1587), the author of a vicious attack on the stage called *A Mirrour of Monsters* (1587), as well as of plays, satires, and poems, and of prefatory verses to Henry Perry's *Welsh Grammar* (1595)[4] and John Bodenham's *Belvedere* (1600). The letters are, however, often explained as the initials of Sir Walter Raleigh;[5] but, even if that identifi-

[1] But this exception would not extend to the editions of Tottel's *Miscellany* published in 1559, 1565, 1567, and 1574, which Mr. Looney ignores but which preceded the *Paradise* and inspired the publication of it.

[2] See my note in *Modern Language Notes*, XLI (1926), 327.

[3] I observe that he parallels 85.16–17 with *King Lear*, I. iv. 191f.:

> Then they for sudden joy did weep,
> And I for sorrow sung.

But these lines were written by neither Oxford nor Shakespeare; they were composed before 1556 by the Protestant martyr John Careless, as I showed in the *Modern Language Review*, XV (1920), 87–89, and in my *Old English Ballads* (1920), p. 47.

[4] According to Hazlitt's *Hand-Book*, p. 498.

[5] In his Introduction to the *Seven English Poetical Miscellanies*, p. vi, Collier declares that No. 4 is Raleigh's "earliest production in verse, unless we give precedence to his lines before Gascoyne's 'Steele Glasse'; and it is highly characteristic of the philosophical spirit and tone of Raleigh's mind." But this is sheer assertion.

cation were certain, it would have little value. W. R., whoever he may have been, can hardly have been the author; instead, as is pointed out in the Notes, the authorship of No. 4 most probably belongs to Hunnis.

Barnabe Rich

One poem, No. 120, is assigned to Rich in *C*, the only edition in which it appears.

Barnabe Rich was born about 1540, probably of an Essex family. Most of his life was spent in military service. During 1557–1558 he served in Queen Mary's army against France; later he took part in various campaigns in the Low Countries, where he met both Gascoigne and Churchyard. Promoted to the rank of captain, he sailed for Ireland in July, 1573, and spent the remainder of his life chiefly in the neighborhood of Dublin. In 1574, after a brief visit to London, he began to write popular pamphlets — romances, satires, reminiscences, and the like. His best-known work is his *Farewell to Military Profession* (1581), a collection of romances, one of which furnished Shakespeare with the plot for *Twelfth Night*. He continued in the army for many years after writing this *Farewell*, until in July, 1616, he was presented with a gift of £100 in recognition of his position as senior captain of the kingdom. He boasted that he had written thirty-six books. Many of them are listed in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and in the printed catalogue of the British Museum.

D. Sand (D. S.)

Four poems, Nos. 22, 25, 29, and 47 (which was possibly by John Harington), are assigned to D. S. in every edition (*A–I*). No. 5 is attributed to him in *A*, but to its real author, Hunnis, in *B–I*. Probably D. S. is identical with the M. S. to whom No. 102 is credited.

On the title-page of *A*, D. S. is listed as a contributor; in all later editions (*B–I*) these initials are expanded in the lists of authors to "D. Sand" or "D. Sande," but remain unchanged at the end of the poems. Sand is named along with several other poets in William Webbe's *Discourse of English Poetrie* (1586).[1] The attempt made by Brydges and others[2] to identify D. Sand with Dr. Edwin Sandys, Archbishop of York (*ca.* 1516–1588), is worthy of no consideration.

[1] Gregory Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, I, 242.

[2] Including H. H. Child, in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, III, 189 (English ed. 213).

E. S.

Three poems are attributed to E. S. in all the editions in which they occur: No. 38 in *A*, Nos. 50 and 74 in *A–I*. No. 4 is assigned to him in *A*, to W. R. in *BC*, and to Hunnis in *D–I;* it was probably written by Hunnis. No. 37 is credited to him in *A* but to Lord Vaux in *B–I;* it was undoubtedly written by Vaux.

The identity of E. S. is doubtful. Brydges in his edition of the *Paradise* (pages xvii, xviii) suggests that E. S. was the same as D. Sand, — since D. Sand may stand for Dr. Edwin Sandys,[1] — or else that the initials are those of Edmund Spenser.[2] Neither suggestion deserves serious consideration.

M. S.

One poem, No. 102, is attributed to M. S. in every edition in which it occurs (*B–I*). Since *M.* is an abbreviation for *Master*, M. S. is no doubt identical with D. Sand.

Master (John) Thorn (M. T.)

Two poems are assigned to Thorn in all the editions in which they appear: No. 20 in *A–I* and No. 56 in *AB*.

Three ballads by Thorn are preserved in Additional MS. 15,233,[3] where they are signed respectively "Fynis quod master Jhon Thorne," "Fynis, quod Jhon Thorne," and "Fynis, quod Mr. Thorne." The last of these is, as the Notes indicate, a version of No. 56.

Lord Vaux (L. V.)

Twelve poems are assigned to Lord Vaux in all the editions in which they appear: Nos. 8, 16, 17 (possibly by John Harington), 71, 87, 89, 90, and 91 in *A–I;* Nos. 80 and 92 in *A;* No. 81 in *AB;* and No. 113 in *B–I*.

[1] A suggestion that Collier, in his Introduction to *Seven English Poetical Miscellanies* (1867), p. v, treats as an established fact. Collier adds (p. vi) that, although probably meant for Edwin Sandys, E. S. "might denote the Earl of Surrey."

[2] Cf. R. A. D. Lithgow, "The Paradise of Dainty Devices (1576)," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, 2d series, xvii (1895), 66.

[3] Edited by Halliwell[-Phillipps], *The Moral Play of Wit and Science*, pp. 65–68, 102–104, 110–111 (Shakespeare Society, 1848). George Ellis, *Specimens of the Early English Poets*, ii (1803), 152, says that Bishop Percy (see his *Reliques*, ed. Wheatley, ii, 169) believed M. T. to have been printed "perhaps invertedly for T. Marshall."

He also probably wrote No. 37, which is attributed to him in *B–I*, though in *A* it is signed E. S. No. 48 is given to him in *A*, but to Hunnis in *B–I;* No. 88 is assigned to him in *A*, but to Hunnis in *B–G*, while in *HI* it is anonymous. With twelve undisputed poems (omitting No. 17 but including No. 37) to his credit, Vaux is one of the most important contributors to the *Paradise*. In the number of his contributions he is surpassed by only Edwards and Hunnis.

Thomas Vaux, second Baron Vaux, born in 1510, was the eldest son of Nicholas Vaux, the first Baron Vaux, with whom he is confused by Puttenham in *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589) and by many later writers. In 1523 Thomas succeeded to the barony. He attended Cardinal Wolsey to France in 1527, and five years later was in the train of Henry VIII on the Field of the Cloth of Gold. Summoned to the House of Lords in January, 1531, he remained in attendance in that body until December, 1555. He died in October, 1556, leaving a widow, two sons, and two daughters.

Vaux was a contributor to Tottel's *Miscellany*, but only two of his contributions can now be identified. These two, and the thirteen poems attributed to him in various editions of the *Paradise*, were reprinted by Grosart in the *Miscellanies of the Fuller Worthies' Library*, volume IV (1872). Puttenham[1] speaks of Vaux as "a man of much facilitie in vulgar makings," "a man otherwise of no great learning, but hauing herein a maruelous facillitie"; "his commendation," he says, "lyeth chiefly in the facillitie of his meetre, and the aptnesse of his descriptions such as he taketh vpon him to make, namely in sundry of his Songs, wherein he sheweth the counterfait action very liuely & pleasantly."

George Whetstone(s)

One poem, No. 110, which occurs in *B* only, is signed by Whetstone. He is also the author of No. 118 (*C–I*), though it is signed by G. G. or G. Gask(e).

Whetstone, or Whetstones, was born in London about 1544. According to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, "as a young man he tried his fortune at court. He seems to have haunted gambling houses and brothels, and dissipated his patrimony by reckless living. He subsequently devoted much energy to denunciations of the depravity of London, and

[1] Gregory Smith, *op. cit.*, II, 63, 65, 413.

declared that he was fraudulently deprived of his property. For three years or more he conducted a costly lawsuit against those whom he charged with robbing him of his possessions, but he gained little."

In 1572 he served in an English regiment in Holland, holding an officer's commission and making the acquaintance of Churchyard and Gascoigne. He distinguished himself in action, but, returning to England, he took up literature as a profession. In 1576 he published *The Rock of Regard*, a book made up of some sixty-eight pieces, several of them tales in prose or verse translated from the Italian. In 1577 he entertained Gascoigne, who died on October 5 while he was Whetstone's guest.[1] Immediately afterwards Whetstone wrote *A Remembrance of the Well Employed Life and Godly End of George Gascoigne, Esq.*, part of which appears in the *Paradise* as No. 118. Similar verse-elegies from his pen were published on Sir Nicholas Bacon in 1579, Sir James Dyer in 1583, Thomas, Earl of Sussex, in 1583, Francis, Earl of Bedford, in 1585, and Sir Philip Sidney in 1587. He also wrote a play, *Promos and Cassandra* (1578), which was never acted but which furnished Shakespeare with the plot of *Measure for Measure*. In 1578 or 1579 Whetstone accompanied Sir Humphrey Gilbert on his voyage to Newfoundland; in 1580 he spent some time in Italy. Two years later his *Heptameron of Civil Discourses*, a collection of prose romances (one of which retells the *Measure for Measure* story) was printed. In 1585 he reëntered the army, accompanying the English forces to Holland and taking part in the battle of Zutphen, in which Sidney was fatally wounded. Whetstone's last work, *The Censure of a Loyal Subject* (1587), dealt with the crime and punishment of Anthony Babington and his thirteen fellow-conspirators. He must have died towards the end of 1587; for an act of administration, I have discovered, was granted to his widow, Anne, on January 3, 1587/8.

Whetstone wrote various other works which I have not mentioned. George Steevens (according to the *Dictionary of National Biography*) called him "the most quaint and contemptible writer, both in prose and verse, he ever met with."

Sir Thomas Wyatt

No. 61, which appears in *A* only, is assigned to Hunnis. As the Notes show, the poem was actually written by Wyatt, though Hunnis may have

[1] Such, at least, is the usual statement; but see B. M. Ward, "George Gascoigne and his Circle," *The Review of English Studies*, II (1926), 37, 39.

revised it. For information about Wyatt see the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Arber's edition of Tottel's *Miscellany*, and A. K. Foxwell's edition (1913) of Wyatt's poems.

Master Yloop (Ylope)

Two poems, Nos. 3 and 99, are assigned to Yloop in all the editions (*A–I*). His name appeared on the title-page of *A*, while that of so important a contributor as William Hunnis was omitted, no doubt because the name Yloop was signed to the third poem in *A* and hence was noticeable, whereas Hunnis's name was first met with at the end of the fifty-ninth poem. In all later editions both Yloop and Hunnis appear in the list of contributors, where in *FG* the name is spelled Ylope.

In his copy of the *Paradise* (*E*), Malone suggested in a marginal note that "Yloop" was "Forsan *M. Pooley*," and later added to his note, "Mr Steevens I observe made the same observation long after this was written." [1] But the name "Pooley" itself is not of much help, though Brydges [2] remarks that "Pooley is a name that occurs in Yates's tripartite collection of poems, printed in 1582," — referring to *The Castle of Courtesy* by James Yates, Servingman.[3] Many instances of the name occur in the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*,[4] and in books on Suffolk.

Master Yloop is probably the "S. Y." to whom, among other *Paradise* poets, William Webbe referred in 1586: [5]

> I might next speake of the dyuers workes of the olde Earle of *Surrey*, of the L. *Vaus*, of *Norton* of *Bristow*, *Edwardes*, *Tusser*, *Churchyard*, *Wyl. Hunnis*, *Haiwood*, *Sand*, *Hyll*, *S.Y.*, *M.D.*, and many others; but to speake of their severall gyfts and aboundant skyll shewed forth by them in many pretty and learned workes woulde make my discourse much more tedious.

[1] In the "Contents" to his edition (1800) of Edward Phillips's *Theatrum Poetarum Anglicanorum* (1675) Brydges remarks of Yloop, "It has struck me that this strange name is Pooly, read backwards." But evidently his suggestion was later than that of Steevens, who died in 1800.

[2] In his edition of the *Paradise*, p. xvii.

[3] I have not seen this book, but it is fully described in Corser's *Collectanea Anglo-Poetica*, v, 432–435.

[4] E. g., 1547–1580, pp. 20, 587; 1581–1590, p. 349; 1598–1601, pp. 13, 499. See also *Censura Literaria*, III (1807), 383, and *Notes and Queries*, 8th series, III, 391–392, XII, 508.

[5] Gregory Smith, *op. cit.*, I, 242–243, 411.

VI. THE STYLE OF THE *PARADISE*

The extravagance of Elizabethan lyricists was a matter for incessant ridicule. "Were it not that I pitty the poore multitude of Printers," declares Phantastes, a character in *Lingua* (1607),[1] "these Sonnet-mungers should starue for conceits, for all *Phantastes*. But these puling Louers, I cannot but laugh at them and their Encomions of their Mistresses. They make forsooth her hayre of Gold, her eyes of Diamond, her cheekes of Roses, her lippes of Rubies, her teeth of Pearle, and her whole body of Iuory."

But such ridicule as this, though in general applicable to the other poetical miscellanies of the time, left the *Paradise* untouched. Above all else, it is remarkable for the comparatively slight attention it pays to the tender passion and for the serious, even melancholy, tone of most of its lyrics. The one love-sonnet (No. 38) which appeared in the first edition was so obviously out of place that in all subsequent editions it was omitted. Such, too, was the fate of Nos. 78, 80, and 86, among others; and No. 81 went no farther than the third edition. As the *Paradise* grew older it became more and more sedate. Even in the love-poems that were allowed to remain the tone is usually far from optimistic, never amorous, the poets warning their readers (as in Nos. 23 and 65) of the dangers and the futility of love.

Richard Edwards was a serious-minded person, whose lyrics were intended to inculcate prudence and virtue. A man of wide reading, he introduced many themes that were more or less novel: particularly significant is the manner in which he combined information with moral teaching in his poems on Damocles, Valerian, Spurina, and Zaleucus. Though he did not object to an occasional light touch or frothy subject, still the poems he chose from other writers are usually as grave or didactic as those composed by himself.

In its opening poem, a translation from St. Bernard on the brevity and vanity of life, the *Paradise* sounds a minor key. The remaining poems seldom deal with the themes of love and honor, heretofore conventional in Elizabethan poetry; instead gravity, didacticism, and proverbial philosophy are conspicuous. Such titles as "Had I Wist," "Promise is Debt," and "No Words but Deeds" reveal an entirely different point of view

[1] Sigs. D2v–D3 (*Tudor Facsimile Texts*).

from that of Tottel's *Miscellany* or of *A Handful of Pleasant Delights*. The certainty of death, the changeableness of friends, the importance of education, the hollowness of the Court, such are the subjects on which many of the poems bear.

To be original on these topics is hardly possible. It is, then, to the credit of the authors that they deal with somewhat commonplace themes in a tuneful and usually an interesting fashion. In their language there is a terseness of expression often approaching epigram, and resulting in quotable lines like "Of ignorance comes rotten weeds" (22.31), "A valiant mind no deadly danger fears" (83.15), "Many have been harmed by speech, through thinking few or none" (88.27). As in the other miscellanies of the period, proverbs and proverbial phrases abound.

The defects of style in the *Paradise* are due to the taste of the age rather than to the individual authors. There is, of course, too much dependence on alliteration, with its inevitable crop of hackneyed phrases and figures. "He bites the baits that breeds his bitter bale" (21.7), "A captive clapped in chains of care, lapped in the laws of lethal love" (29.30), and "Where seething sighs and sour sobs Hath slain the slips that nature set" (52.32 f.) were lines that appealed to the Elizabethan ear; they may even have been considered beautiful, and so it is unfair to condemn them on modern standards. The *Paradise* does not over-use alliteration so hopelessly as the *Gorgeous Gallery* does; it rather marks a kind of halfway point between the old poetry and the new.

The taste of the age likewise accounts for the over-dependence on balance and antithesis, for the too abundant literary allusions, and for the piling up of figures which hold the main thought in suspense to a degree that sometimes becomes almost intolerable. In such a poem as No. 20 there are two entire stanzas dealing with commonplaces about sturdy rocks, marble stones, stately stags, and swiftest birds, before the poet reaches his point — itself obvious — that man must die, that only good deeds live. Yet this poem is written in the best early Elizabethan style, a style developed and popularized by Churchyard and Turbervile; and it has a smoothness of diction and of rhythm that is not often found in the work of Wyatt and Surrey. The style of the poems is what might be called poetic Euphuism. Not many years passed before it became antiquated.

As to diction, the *Paradise* is distinguished by a large number of obsolete and unusual words, many of which either furnish the only illustrations in the *New English Dictionary* or else are earlier than any

there cited: see, for example, in the Glossarial Index below, *bedless*, *flawe*, *perforce*, *rageless*, *resign*, *shaling*, *totter*. Obscure passages, too, abound, necessitating hard study and elaborate paraphrase for their elucidation; but probably in most cases the lack of clearness is due to corruption of the original lines by the printer.

Most of the poems, as Disle observes in his prefatory epistle, were written to be sung; and, if sung, the faults which appear noticeable in reading can generally be condoned. The musical settings of several are referred to in the Notes. A considerable number (as Nos. 7, 52, 53, 98, 103, 116, 117) were first published in broadside, or ballad, form, and were intended for street-singing. Certain others, too (like Nos. 69, 73, 74, 76, 77), were apparently written to be sung as ballads. The *Paradise*, then, provides a combination of ballad-poetry and art-poetry, some of it by ordinary balladists, the remainder by poets of varying degrees of distinction.

The metres of the *Paradise* are considerably varied, but not so much as those of the *Gorgeous Gallery*. In striking contrast both to Tottel's *Miscellany* and to the *Gallery*, there is in the *Paradise* only one sonnet; but in other metrical forms it exhibits ingenuity and variety. It contains broadside-ballad stanzas of many types, some of them charming. Poulter's measure is, of course, inevitable, as are also fourteeners; but verses of four, five, or six feet occur in greater proportion still. Although no tunes are named in the *Paradise*, most of the poems were written with definite tunes in mind; so that they naturally have a musical movement, a rhythm that dominates, whatever the metrical form be.

Nobody will claim that there is great poetry in this collection; but there are many pleasing songs, and there are only a few poems that one would dispense with willingly. The best of the poets seems to me to be Richard Edwards: especially good is his lyric beginning "In going to my naked bed" (No. 46). Very pretty, too, are the religious lyrics of Francis Kinwelmarsh and Jasper Heywood (Nos. 9–11), the first of which, with a musical setting by William Byrd, enjoyed a long and well-deserved popularity. By no means despicable are the lyrics of William Hunnis, though his tendency to conceits and to rhetorical flourishes prevents more cordial praise. The depths of bathos, however, are reached in the epitaphs contributed by Lloyd, Disle, and Rich.

But, so far as the first three editions are concerned, *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* deserves a high place in the history of English poetry. Coming as it did after Tottel's *Miscellany* and before Spenser's *Shep-*

herds' Calendar (1579), its poetry had no genuine rival save in the "Induction" written by Sackville for the *Mirror for Magistrates* (1563). The historian of English poetry will always appreciate the *Paradise*. One who approaches the volume from a point of view not historical may at least be pleased with its quaintness, its ingenious figures, and its rhetorical decorations.

For permission to use, and in some instances to reproduce, their texts of the *Paradise*, I am under heavy obligations to the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, Mr. Henry E. Huntington, Mr. W. A. White, and Sir R. L. Harmsworth, Bart. Messrs. Bernard Quaritch, Ltd., and Sotheby and Company have generously answered inquiries, and have helped me to ascertain the present whereabouts of certain books. My old friend, Miss Addie F. Rowe, not only checked the manuscript from beginning to end, but also, during my absence from America on a John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Fellowship, assumed most of the burden of piloting the book through the press. Her aid, as usual, has been invaluable. Professor George Lyman Kittredge ("*Il Maestro di color che sanno*") read the manuscript, and made innumerable helpful suggestions. My indebtedness to him, increasing year by year, has reached a stage that admits no possibility of repayment or even of adequate acknowledgment. For his help I must necessarily content myself with this too general word of thanks.

H. E. R.

London
November 8, 1926

THE PARADYSE

of daynty deuiſes,

aptly furniſhed, with ſundry pithie and learned inuentions:
deuiſed and written for the moſt part, by M. Edwards,
ſometimes of her Maieſties Chappel: the reſt, by
ſundry learned Gentlemen, both of honor,
and woorſhippe.

viz.

S. Barnarde. IaſperHeyvvood.
E. O. F. K.
L. Vaux. M. Bevve.
D. S. R. Hill.
M. Yloop, vvith others.

IMPRINTED AT LON-
don by Henry Diſle, dwellyng in
Paules Churchyard, at the South weſt doore
of Saint Paules Church, and are there
to be ſolde.

1576.

·CHERCHE·
·IE·NE·
·Q·VNE·

TO THE RIGHT HONO-
rable Syr Henry Compton Knight,
Lorde Compton, of Compton.

RIGHT HONORABLE, *and my very good Lord, (presuming vppon your curtesy) I am bolde to present vnto your honor, this small volume: Entituled, The Paradise of deynty deuises, being penned by diuers learned Gentlemen, and collected togeather, through the trauell of one, both of woorship and credite, for his priuate vse: who not long since departed this lyfe, which when I had perused ouer, not with out the aduise of sundry my freendes, I determined by theyr good motion, to set them in print, who thervnto greatly perswaded me, with these and like woordes: The wryters of them, were both of honor and worship: besides that, our owne countrey men, and such as for theyr learnyng and grauitie, might be accounted of a-*

mong the wisest. Furthermore, the ditties both pithy and pleasant, as well for the inuention as meter, and wyll yeelde a farre greater delight, being as they are so aptly made to be set to any song in .5. partes, or song to instrument. Which wel consydering I purposed not to forsake so good an occasion, beseeching your honor to accept it in good part, cheefely for the auctthours sake: who though some of them are departed this lyfe, yet theyr woorthy doings shall continue for euer: for like as the shadow followeth the body, so praise followeth vertue: and as the shadow goeth somtimes before, and sometimes behind, so doth praise also to vertue: but the later it commeth, the greater it is, and to be the better esteemed. Thus fearing to offende your honor with these my rude speaches, I end, wishing your L. many yeres of ioy.

Your good Lordships wholy to commaund,
H. D.

[1.] THE TRANSLATION of the blessed Saint Barnards

verses, conteynyng the vnstable felicitie

of this wayfaring worlde.

CVR mundus militat, sub vana gloria, cuius prosperitas est transitoria?
Tam cito labitur, eius potentia, quam vasa figuli, quæ sunt fragilia.

WHY dooth eache state apply it selfe to worldly prayse?
And vndertake such toyle, to heape vp honours gayne:
Whose seate, though seeming sure, on fickle fortune stayes,
Whose giftes were neuer proued, perpetuall to remayne.
But euen as earthen pot, with euery fillip fayles,
So fortunes fauour flittes, and fame with honour quayles.

Plus crede litteris, scriptis in glacie, quam mundi fragilis, vanæ fallaciæ.
Fallax in premijs, virtutis specie, quæ nunquam habuit, tempus fiduciæ.

Thinke rather firme to finde, a figure grauen in Ise,
Whose substance subiect is, to heate of shinyng sunne:
Then hope for stedfast stay, in wanton worldes deuise,
Whose fained fond delightes, from falsheds forge doo come.
And vnder Vertues veyle, are largely dealt about,
Deceiuing those, who thinke their date wyll neuer out.

Magis credendū est viris fallacibus, quam mundi miseris prosperitatibus,
Falsis insanijs & voluptatibus, falsis quoquæ studiis & vanitatibus.

The trifeling truethles tongue, of rumours lying lippes,
Deserues more trust, then dooth the highest happy hap:
That world to worldlinges geues, for see how honour slippes,
To foolishe fond conceytes, to pleasures poysoned sap.
To studyes false in proofe, to artes applyed to gayne,
To fickle fancies toyes, which wysedome deemeth vayne.

Dic vbi

S. Barnards verses.

Dic vbi Salomon, olim tam nobilis? vel vbi Samson est, dux inuincibilis?
Vel dulcis Ionathas, multū amabilis? vel pulcher Absolon, vultu mirabilis?

Where is the sacred king, that Salomon the wyse?
Whose wysdome, former time, of duetie did commend:
Where is that Samson strong, that monstrous man in syze?
Whose forced arme, dyd cause the mighty pillers bend.
Where is the peareles Prince, the freendly Ionathas?
Or Absolon, whose shape and fauour did surpasse.

Quo Cæsar abijt, celsus imperio, vel diues splendidus, totus in prandio,
Dic vbi Tullius, clarus eloquio, vel Aristoteles, summus ingenio.

Where is that Cæsar nowe, whose hygh renowmed fame,
Of sundry conquestes wonne, throughout the world did sound?
Or *Diues* riche in store, and rich in richely name,
Whose chest with gold and dishe, with daynties did abound.
Where is the passing grace, of *Tullies* pleding skill?
Or *Aristotles* vayne, whose penne had witte and wyll.

O esca vermium, ò massa pulueris, ò ros, ò vanitas, cur sic extolleris?
Ignoras penitus vtrum cras vixeris, fac bonum omnibus, quam diu poteris.

O foode of filthy woorme, oh lumpe of lothsome clay,
O life full like the deawe, which mornyng sunne dooth waste:
O shadowe vayne, whose shape with sunne dooth shrinke away,
Why gloryest thou so much, in honour to be plaste?
Sith that no certayne houre, of life thou dost enioy,
Most fyt it were, thy tyme in goodnesse to employ.

Quam breue festū est, hæc mūdi gloria, vt vmbra hominū, sic eius gaudia,
Quæ semper subtrahit æterna præmia, & ducunt hominū, ad dura deuia.

How short a banquet seemes the pompe of high renowme?
How like the senseles shape, of shiuering shadowe thinne?
Are wanton worldly toyes, whose pleasure plucketh downe,
Our harts from hope, & hands from works, which heauen should win.

And

And takes vs from the trod, which guides to endles gayne,
And sets vs in the way, that leades to lastyng payne.

Hæc mundi gloria, quæ magni penditur, sacris in litteris, flos fæni dicitur.
Vt leue folium, quod vento rapitur, sic vita hominem, hac vita tollitur.

The pompe of worldly prayse, which worldlinges hold so deere,
In holy sacred booke, is likened to a flowre:
Whose date dooth not conteyne, a weeke, a moonth, or yeere,
But springing nowe, dooth fade againe within an houre.
And as the lightest leafe, with winde about is throwne,
So lyght is lyfe of man, and lightly hence is blowne.

Finis. My Lucke is losse.

[2.] *Beware of had I wyst.*

BEware of had I wyst, whose fine bringes care and smart,
Esteeme of all as they deserue, and deeme as deemd thou art:
So shall thy perfect freend, enioy his hoped hyre,
And faythlesse fawning foe, shall misse theffect of his desyre.
Good wyll shall haue his gayne, and hate shal heape despite,
A faithlesse freend shall finde distrust, and loue shall reape delight.
Thy selfe shall rest in peace, thy freend shall ioy thy fate,
Thy foe shall fret at thy good happe, and I shall ioy thy state.
But this my fond aduise, may seeme perchaunce but vayne,
As rather teaching how to lose, then howe a freend to gayne.
But this not my intent, to teache to finde a freend,
But safely how to loue and leaue, is all that I entend.
And yf you prooue in part, and finde my counsell true,
Then wyshe me well for my good wyll, tis all I craue adewe.

Finis. My lucke is losse.

[3.] *The perfect tryall of a faythfull freend.*

NOt stayed state, but feeble stay,
Not costly robes, but bare aray:
Not passed wealth, but present want,
Not heaped store, but sclender skant:
Not plenties purse, but poore estate,
Not happy happe, but froward fate:
Not wyshe at wyll, but want of ioy,
Not harts good health, but hartes annoy:
Not freedomes vse, but prisons thrall,
Not costly seate, but lowest fall:
Not weale I meane, but wretched woe,
Dooth truely trye, the freend from foe:
And nought, but froward fortune proues,
Who fawning faines, or simply loues.

Finis, Yloop.

[4.] *No pleasure, without some payne.*

SWeete were the ioyes, that both might like and last,
Strange were the state, exempt from all distresse:
Happy the lyfe, that no mishap should tast,
Blessed the chaunce, might neuer change successe.
Were such a lyfe to leade, or state to proue,
Who would not wyshe, that such a lyfe were loue.

But O the sowry sauce of sweete vnsure,
When pleasures flye, and flee with wast of winde:
The trustlesse traynes that hoping hartes allure,
When sweete delightes doo but allure the minde.
When care consumes and wastes the wretched wight,
Whyle fancy feedes, and drawes of her delight.

What lyfe were loue, yf loue were free from payne?
But O that payne, with pleasure matcht should meete:
Why dyd the course of nature so ordayne,
That sugred sowre, must sause the bitter sweete.
Which sowre from sweete, might any meanes remoue.
What happe, what heauen, what lyfe, were lyke to loue,

Finis. E. S.

[5.] *Our pleasures are vanities.*

BEhold the blast which blowes, the blossomes from the tree,
The end whereof consumes and comes, to nought we see.
Ere thou therefore be blowen, from life that may not last,
Begin for grace, to call for time mispent and past.

Haue mind on brittle life, whose pleasures are but vayne,
On death likewyse bethinke, how thou maist not remaine.
And feare thy Lord to greeue, which sought thy soule to saue,
To synne no more be bent, but mercie aske and haue.

For death who dooth not spare, the kinges on earth to kill,
Shall reape also from thee, thy pleasure, life, and will.
That lyfe which yet remaynes, and in thy brest appeares,
Hath sowne in thee sutch seedes, you ought to weede with teares.

And life that shall succeede, when death is worne and past,
Shall spring for euer then, in ioy or paine to last.
Where death on life hath power ye see, that life also,
Hath mowen the fruites of death, which neuer more shall growe.

FINIS. *D. S.*

[6.] *M. Edwardes MAY.*

WHen MAY is in his prime, then MAY eche hart reioyce,
When MAY bedeckes eche branch w^t^ greene, eche bird streines
The liuely sappe creepes, vp into y^e^ bloming thorne, (forth his voyce.
The flowres, which cold in prison kept, now laughes the frost to scorne.
All natures Impes triumphes, whyles ioyfull May dooth last,
When MAY is gone, of all the yeere the pleasant time is past.

MAY makes the cherfull hue, MAY breedes and bringes newe blood,
MAY marcheth throughout euery limme, MAY makes y^e^ mery moode.
MAY pricketh tender hartes, their warbling notes to tune,
Ful strange it is, yet some wee see, doo make their MAY in June.
Thus thinges are straungely wrought, whyles ioyfull MAY doth last,
Take MAY in time, when MAY is gone, the pleasant time is past.

All ye that liue on earth, and haue your MAY at wyll,
Reioyce in MAY, as I doo now, and vse your MAY with skill.
Vse MAY, whyle that you may, for MAY hath but his time,
When all the fruite is gone, it is to late the tree to clime.
Your liking and your lust, is freshe whyles MAY dooth last,
When MAY is gone, of all the yeere the pleasaunt time is past.
Finis.

[7.] *Faire woordes make fooles faine.*

IN youthfull yeeres when fyrst my young desyres began,
To pricke mee foorth to serue in Court a sclender tall young man.
My Fathers blessing then I askt vpon my knee,
Who blessing me with trembling hand, these woordes gan say to me.
My sonne, God guide thy way, and shielde thee from mischaunce,
And make thy iust desartes in Court, thy poore estate to aduaunce.
Yet when thou art become one of the Courtly trayne,
Thinke on this prouerbe olde (qd he) that faire woordes make fooles (faine.

This counsell grauely geuen, most strange appeares to me.
Tyll tract of time, with open eyes, had made me plainely see.
What subtill sleightes are wrought, by painted rales deuise,
When hollowe hartes with freendly shoes the simple doo entise.
To thinke al golde that shines to feede their fonde desire,
Whose shiuering cold is warmd with smoke, in stead of flaming fire.
Sith talke of tickle trust, dooth breede a hope most vaine,
This prouerbe true by proofe I finde, that faire woordes make fooles (faine.

Faire speache alway doeth well, where deedes insue faire woordes,
Faire speache againe, alway dooth euil, that busshes geues for birdes.
Who hopes to haue fayre woordes, to trye his luckie lot,
If I may counsel let him strike it, whyle the iron is hotte.
But them that feede on cloddes, in steade of pleasaunt grapes,
And after warning often geuen, for better lucke still gapes.
Full loth I am, yet must I tell them in woordes plaine,
This prouerbe old proues true in them, that faire words makes fooles (faine.

Wo

Wo woorth the time that woordes, so slowly turne to deedes,
Wo worth the time, t̄ y̆ faire sweete floures, are growē to rotten weedes.
But thrise wo woorth the time, that trueth, away is fled,
Wherein I see how simple hartes, with woordes are vainely fed.
Trust no faire woordes therefore, where no deedes doo ensue,
Trust words, as skilful Falkeners doo trust Haukes that neuer flew.
Trust deedes, let woordes be woordes, which neuer wrought me gaine,
Let my experience make you wyse, and let woordes make fooles faine.

M. Edwardes.

[8.] *In his extreame sycknesse.*

What greeues my bones, and makes my body faint?
What prickes my flesh and teares my head in twaayne?
Why doo I wake, when rest should me attaynt?
When others laugh, why doo I liue in paine?
I **tosse** I **turne**, I **change** from side to side,
And **stretche** me oft, in sorowes linkes betyde.

I **tosse**, as one betost in waues of care,
I **turne**, to flee the woes of lothsome lyfe:
I **change** to spie, yf death this corps might spare,
I **stretche** to heauen, to ridde me of this strife,
Thus doo I **stretche** and **change**, and **tosse** and **turne**,
Whyle I in hope of heauen by life doo burne.

Then holde thee still, let be thy heauinesse,
Abolishe care, forgeat thy pining woe:
For by this meanes soone shalt thou finde redresse,
When oft betost, hence thou to heauen must goe.
Then **tosse** and **turne**, and **tumble** franke and free.
O happy thryse, when thou in heauen shalt be.

Finis. L. Vaux.

[9.] *For Christmas day.*

Reioyce reioyce, with hart and voyce,
In Christes birth this day reioyce.

FRom Virgins wombe, this day dyd spring,
The precious seede that onely saued man:
This day let man reioyce and sweetely sing,
Since on this day saluation fyrst began.
This day dyd Christe mans soule from death remooue,
With glorious saintes to dwell in heauen aboue.

This day to man came pledge of perfect peace,
This day to man came loue and vnitie:
This day mans greefe began for to surcease,
This day did man receyue a remedie.
For eche offence, and euery deadly sinne,
With guiltie hart, that erst he wandred in.

In Christes flocke, let loue be surely plaste,
From Christes flocke, let concorde hate expell:
Of Christes flocke, let loue be so embraste,
As we in Christe, and Christe in vs may dwell.
Christe is the aucthour of all vnitie,
From whence proceedeth all felicitie.

O syng vnto this glittering glorious king,
O prayse his name, let euery liuing thing:
Let hart and voyce like Belles of syluer ring,
The comfort that this day did bring.
Let Lute, let Shalme, with sounde of sweete delight,
The ioy of Christes birth this day resight.

Finis. *F. K.*

Easter

[10.] *Easter day.*

ALl mortall men this day reioyce,
In Christ that you redeemed hath:
By death, with death sing we with voyce,
To him that hath appesed Gods wrath.
Due vnto man for sinfull path,
Wherein before he went astray:
Geue thankes to him with perfect faith,
That for mankind hath made this glorious day.

This day he rose from tombe againe,
Wherin his precious corse was laide:
Whom cruelly the Iewes had slaine,
With blooddy woundes full ill araide.
O Man be nowe no more dismaide,
If thou hencefoorth from sinne doo stay,
Of death thou needest not be afraide,
Christ conquered death for this his glorious day.

His death preuayled had no whit,
As Paul the Apostle well doth write,
Except he had vprysen yet,
From death to life by Godlike might.
With most triumphant glittering light.
This day his glory shined I say,
And made vs bright as sunne this glorious day.

O man aryse with Christe therefore,
Since he from sinne hath made thee free:
Beware thou fall in sinne no more,
But ryse as Christe dyd ryse for thee.
So mayst thou him in glory see,
When he at day of doome shal say:
Come thou my childe and dwell with me,
God Graunt vs all, to see that glorious day.

Finis. Iasper Heywood.

[11.] *For Whitsunday.*

COme holy ghost eternall God, and ease the wofull greefe:
That thorough the heapes of heauy sinne, can no where find releefe.
Doo thou O God redresse
The great distresse
Of sinfull heauinesse.

Come comfort the aflicted thoughtes, of my consumed hart:
O ryd the pearcing pricking paynes, of my tormenting smart.
O holy Ghost graunt me
That I by thee
From sinne may purged be.

Thou art my God, to thee alone,
I wyll commend my cause:
Not glittering golde nor precious stone,
Shall make me leaue thy lawes.
O teache me then the way
Whereby I may
Make thee my onely stay.

My lippes, my tongue, my hart and al,
Shall spreade thy mightie name:
My voyce shall neuer cease to sound,
The prayses of the same.
Yea euery liuing thing
Shall sweetely syng
To thee (O heauenly king.)

Finis. *M. Kindlemarsh.*

[12.] *Who mindes to bring his shippe to happy shore,*
Must care to knowe the lawes of wysdomes lore.

MY freend, yf thou wylt credite me in ought,
To whom the trueth by tryall well appeares:
Nought woorth is wit, till it be dearely bought,
There is no wysedome but in hoarie heares.

Yet

Yet yf I may of wysedome oft define,
As well as others haue of happinesse:
Then to my woordes my freende, thy eare encline,
The thinges that make thee wyse, are these I gesse.

Feare God, and knowe thy selfe in eche degree,
Be freend to all, familier but to fewe:
Too light of credite, see thou neuer be,
For tryall oft in trust, dooth treason shewe.
To others faultes cast not to much thy eye,
Accuse no man of gilt, amend thy owne:
Of medling much, dooth mischiefe oft aryse,
And oft debate, by tickle tongue is sowne.

What thing thou wylt haue hid, to none declare,
In woorde or deede, beware of had I wist:
So spend thy good, that some thou euer spare,
For freendes like Haukes, doo soare from emptie fist.
Cut out thy coate, according to thy cloth,
Suspected persons see thou alwayes flee:
Beleeue not him that once hath broke his troth,
Nor yet of gift, without desart be free.

Time quickly slips beware how thou it spend,
Of wanton youth, repentes a painefull age:
Beginne nothing without an eye to thend,
Nor bowe thyne eare from counsell of the sage.
If thou to farre let out thy fancie slip,
And witlesse wyll from reasons rule outstart:
Thy folly, shall at length be made thy whippe,
And sore, the stripes of shame, shal cause thee smart.

To doo too much for olde men is but lost,
Of freendship had to women comes like gaine:
Bestowe not thou on children to much cost,
For what thou dooest for these, is all in vayne.

The

The olde man or he can requite, he dyes,
Vnconstant is the womans waueryng minde:
Full soone the boy thy freendship wyl despise,
And him for loue thou shalt vngratefull finde.

The aged man is like the barren ground,
The woman like the Reede that wagges with winde:
There may no trust in tender yeeres be found,
And of the three, the boy is most vnkinde.
If thou haue found a faithfull freend in deede,
Beware thou lose not loue of such a one:
He shall sometime stand thee in better steede,
Then treasure great of golde or precious stone.

Finis. Iasper Hewood.

[13.] *Of the vnconstant stay of fortunes giftes.*

IF **Fortune** be thy stay, thy state is very tickle,
She beares a double face, disguised, false, and fickle.
This day she seemes to smile, to morrowe wyl she frowne,
What nowe she sets aloft, anone she throweth downe.
Fly **Fortunes** sly deseytes, let **Vertue** be thy guide,
If that you doo intend in happy state to bide.

Vpon the setled Rocke, thy building surest standes,
Away it quickly weares, that resteth on the sandes.
Dame **Vertue** is the Rocke, that yeeldes assured stay,
Dame **Fortune** is the Sand, that skowreth soone away.
Chuse that is certaine, let thinges vncertayne passe,
Preferre the precious golde, before the brittle glasse.

Sly **Fortune** hath her sleightes, she plaies vpon the packe,
Looke whom she fauours most, at length she turnes to wracke.
But **Vertue** simply deales, she shuns deceitfull trayne,
Who is by **Fortune** raysed vp, shall neuer fall againe.
Sticke fast to **Vertue** then, that geues assured trust,
And fly from **Fortunes** freekes, that euer prooue vniust.

Finis. F. K. *Promise*

[14.] *Promise is debt.*

IN my accompt, the promise that is vowed,
Among the good, is holden such a debt:
As he is thought, no whit to be alowed,
That setteth light his promise to forget.
And for my part, I wyl not linke in loue,
With fickle folke, whose fancies oft remoue.

My happy gaine, I doo esteeme for such,
As fewe haue found, in these our doutful dayes:
To finde a freend, I thinke it be as much,
Aste winne, a fort full fraught of noble praise.
Of all the goodes, that there may be possest,
A faithfull freend, I iudge to be the best.

O freendly league, although to late begunne,
Yet time shall try our troth, is well imployed:
And that we both shall see, that we haue wonne,
Such fastned faith, as can not be destroyed.
By enuious rage, or slaunders bitter blowe
That seekes the good, to ouerthrowe,

Finis. *R. Hill.*

[15.] *No woordes, but deedes.*

THE wrong is great, the paine aboue my power,
That yeeldes such care in doutfull dennes to drowne:
Such happe is hard, where fortune dooth so lower,
As freendly looke, is turned to froward frowne.
Is this the trust that faithfull freendes can finde?
With those that yet haue promise broke?
By deedes in dout, as though no woordes can binde,
A vowed freend to hold him to his yoke.

O faithlesse freend? what can assure your minde,
That doutes so soone, before you haue cause why?
To what hard happe? dooth Fortune here me binde,
When woordes nor deedes can no way satisfye.

What can I write? that hath not oft been saide?
What haue I saide? that other hath not affyrmed?
What is approued? that ought to be assayed?
Or what is vowed? that shall not be performed?

Cast of mistrust, in haste no credite giue,
To this or that, that breedeth freendes vnrest:
No doubt at all, but trust me if I liue,
My deedes shall prooue, that all is for the best.
And this beleeue, the Sea shall ceasse to flowe,
The Sunne to shine within the setled skie:
All thinges on earth, shall leaue to spring and growe,
Yea euery foule shall want, his winges to flye.

Eare I in thought, shall seeme once to retyre,
If you my freend remaine, as I desyre:
Nowe lose no time, but vse that whyle you may,
Forget not this, a dogge shall haue a day.

Finis. *R. D.*

[16.] *He desyreth exchange of lyfe.*

THE day delayed, of that I most doo wishe,
Wherewith I feede and starue, in one degree:
With wishe and want, still serued in one dishe,
Aliue as dead, by proofe as you may sowe.
To whom of olde, this prouerbe well it serues,
Whyle grasse dooth growe, the seelly Horse he sterues.

Tweene these extreames, thus doo I rome the race,
Of my poore life, this certaynely I knowe:
Tweene would and want, vnwarely that dooth passe,
More swift then shot, out of the archers bowe.
As Spider drawes her line in vayne all day,
I watch the net, and others haue the pray.

And

And as by proofe, the greedy dogge doth gnaw,
The bared bone, all onely for the taste:
So to and fro, this lothsome life I drawe,
With fancies forst, and fled with vaine repast.
Narsissus brought vnto the water brinke,
So aye thirst I, the more that I doo drinke.

Loe thus I dye, and yet I seeme not sicke,
With smart vnseene, my selfe my selfe I weare:
With prone desire, and power that is not quicke,
With hope aloft nowe drenched in dispaire,
Trayned in trust, for no reward assignd,
The more I haste, the more I come behinde.

With hurt to heale, in frozen yse to frye,
With losse to laugh, this is a woonderous case:
Fast fetred here, is forste away to flye,
As hunted Hare, that Hound hath in the chase.
With winges and spurres, for all the haste I make,
As like to lose, as for to drawe the stake.

The dayes be long, that hang vpon desert,
The life is irke of ioyes that be delayed:
The time is short, for to requite the smart,
That dooth proceede of promise long vnpaid,
That to the last of this my fainting breath,
I wishe exchange of life, for happy death.

Finis. *L: Vaux.*

[17.] *Of the instabilitie of youth.*

WHEN I looke backe, and in my selfe beholde,
The wandring wayes, that youth could not descry:
And markt the fearefull course that youth did holde,
And mette in mind, eache steppe youth strayed a wry.
My knees I bowe, and from my hart I call,
O Lorde, forget these faultes and follies all.

For nowe I see, howe voyde youth is of skill,
I see also his prime time and his end:
I doo confesse my faultes and all my yll,
And sorrowe sore, for that I did offend.
And with a mind repentant of all crimes,
Pardon I aske for youth, ten thousand times.

The humble hart, hath daunted the proud mind,
Eke wysedome hath geuen ignorance a fall:
And wit hath taught, that folly could not finde,
And age hath youth, her subiect and her thrall.
Therefore I pray, O Lorde of life and trueth,
Pardon the faultes committed in my youth.

Thou that dydst graunt the wyse king his request?
Thou that in Whale, thy prophet didst preserue:
Thou that forgauest the wounding of thy brest?
Thou that dydst saue the theefe in state to sterue.
Thou only God, the geuer of all grace?
Wipe out of mind, the path of youthes vaine race.

Thou that by power, to lyfe didst rayse the dead.
Thou that of grace restorest the blinde to sight:
Thou that for loue, thy life and loue out bled,
Thou that of fauour, madest the lame goe ryght.
Thou that canst heale, and helpe in all assayes,
Forgeue the gilth, that grewe in youthes vayne wayes.

And nowe since I, with faith and doubtlesse minde,
Doo fly to thee by prayer, to appease thy yre:
And since that thee, I onely seeke to finde,
And hope by faith, to attayne my iust desyre.
Lorde, minde no more youthes error and vnskill,
And able age, to doo thy holy wyll.

Finis. *L. Vaux.*

Moste

[18.] *Most happy is that state alone,*
Where woordes and deedes agree in one.

BY painted woordes, the silly simple man,
To trustlesse trappe, is trayned now and than.
And by conseyte, of sweete alluring tale,
He bites the baites, that breedes his bitter bale.
To beawties blast, cast not thy rolling eye:
In pleasaunt greene, doo stinging Serpent lye.
The golden Pill, hath but a bitter taste:
In glittering glasse, a poyson ranckest plaste.
So pleasant woordes, without perfourming deedes:
May well be deemed, to spring of Darnel seedes.
The freendly deede is it, that quickly tryes:
Where trusty faith, and freendly meaning lyes.
That state therefore, most happy is to me:
Where woordes and deedes, most faithfully agree.

My freend, yf thou wylt keepe thy honest name:
Fly from the blotte, of barking slaunders blame.
Let not in woord, thy promise be more large:
Then thou in deede, art wylling to discharge.
Abhorred is that false dissembling broode,
That seemes to beare, two faces in one hoode.
To say a thing, and not to meane the same:
Wyll turne at length, to lose of thy good name.
Wherefore my freend, let double dealing goe:
In steade whereof, let perfect plainenesse flowe.
Doo thou no more, in idle woordes exceede:
Then thou intendes to doo, in very deede.
So good report, shall spreade thy woorthy prayse:
For being iust in woord and deede alwayes.

You worldly wightes, that worldly dooers are:
Before you let your woord slip foorth to farre,
Consyder wel, what inconuenience springes:
By breache of promise made, in lawfull thinges.

First, God mislikes where such deceite dooth swarme:
Next, it redoundeth vnto thy neighbours harme.
And last of all, which is not least of all:
For such offence, thy conscience suffer shall.
As barren groundes, bringes foorth but rotten weedes:
From barren woordes, so fruitelesse chaffe proceedes.
As sauerie flowres, doo spring in fertill ground:
So trusty freendes, by tryed freendes are found.
To shunne therefore the woorst, that may ensue:
Let deedes alway, approue thy sayinges true.

Finis. *F. K.*

[19.] *Who wyll aspire to dignitie,*
By learnyng must aduaunced be.

THE poore that liue in needie rate,
By learning doo great richesse gayne:
The riche that liue in wealthy state,
By learnyng doo their wealth mainteyne.
Thus ritch and poore, are furthered still,
By sacred rules of learned skill.

All fond conceites of franticke youth,
The golden gyft of learning stayes:
Of doubtfull thinges to searche the trueth,
Learning sets foorth the reddy wayes.
O happy him doo I repute,
Whose brest is fraught with learninges fruite.

There growes no Corne within the feelde,
That Oxe and Plough did neuer tyll:
Right so the mind no fruite can yeelde,
That is not lead by learninges skill.
Of ignoraunce comes rotten weedes,
Of learnyng springes right noble deedes.

Like

Like as the Captayne hath respect,
To trayne his souldiers in aray:
So Learning dooth mans mind direct,
By **Vertues** staffe his lyfe to stay.
Though Freendes and Fortune waxeth skant,
Yet learned men shall neuer want.

You Impes therefore in youth be sure,
To fraught your mindes with learned thinges:
For Learning is the fountayne pure,
Out from the which all glory springes.
Who so therefore wyll glory winne,
With Learning fyrst, must needes beginne.

Finis. *F. K.*

[20.] *Mans flitting life, fyndes surest stay,*
Where sacred Vertue beareth sway.

THE sturdy Rocke, for all his strength,
By raaging Seas, is rent in twayne:
The Marble stone, is pearst at length,
With little droppes, of drislyng rayne.
The Oxe dooth yeelde vnto the yoke,
The Steele obeyeth the hammer stroke.

The stately Stagge, that seemes so stout,
By yalpyng Houndes, at bay is set:
The swiftest Bird, that flees about,
Is caught at length in Fowlers net.
The greatest Fishe in deepest Brooke,
Is soone deceiued with subtil hooke.

Ye man him selfe, vnto whose wyll,
All thinges are bounden to obay:
For all his witte, and woorthy skill,
Dooth fade at length, and fall away.

There

There is nothing, but time dooth wast,
The Heauens, the Earth, consume at last.

But **Vertue** sittes, triumphing still,
Vpon the Trone, of glorious **Fame**:
Though spitefull Death, mans body kill,
Yet hurtes he not, his vertuous name.
By Life or death, what so be tides,
The state of **Vertue**, neuer slides.

Finis. *M.* *T.*

[21.] *Nothing is comparable vnto a faithfull freend.*

SIth this our time of Freendship is so scant,
Sith Freendship nowe in euery place dooth want.
Sith euery man of Freendship is so hollowe,
As no man rightly knowes which way to followe.
Sease not my Muse, cease not in these our dayes,
To ryng loude peales, of sacred Freendships prayse.

If men be nowe, their owne peculier freendes,
And to their neighbours Freendship none pretendes.
If men of Freendship shewe them selues so bare,
And of their brethren take no freendly care.
Forbeare not then my Muse, nor feare not then,
To ryng disprayse of these vnfreendly men.

Did man of Freendship knowe the mightie power?
Howe great effectes it woorketh euery houre.
What store of hidden freendship it retaynes,
How still it powreth foorth aboundaunt gaynes.
Man would with thee my muse in these our dayes,
Ryng out loude peales, of sacred Freendships prayse.

Freendship, releeueth mans necessitie,
Freendship, comforteth mans aduersitie.
Freendship augmenteth mans prosperitie,
Frendship preferres man to felicitie.

Then

Then ryng my muse, ryng out in these our dayes,
Ring out loude peales, of sacred Freendships prayse.

Of Freendship, groweth loue and charitie,
By Freendship, men are linked in amitie:
From Freendship, springeth all commoditie,
The fruite of Freendship, is fidelitie.
Oh ryng my Muse, ryng out in these our dayes,
Peale vpon peale, of sacred Freendships prayse.

That man with man, true Freendship may embrace,
That man to man, may shewe a freendly face:
That euery man, may sowe such freendly seedes,
As Freendship, may be found in freendly deedes.
And ioyne with me my Muse in these our dayes,
To ryng loude peales, of sacred Freendships prayse.

Finis. *F. K.*

[22.] **Respise finem.**

TO be as wyse as CATO was,
Or ritch as CRESVS in his life:
To haue the strength of Hercules,
Whiche did subdue by force or strife.
What helpeth it when Death doth call,
The happy ende exceedeth all.

The Ritche may well the Poore releeue,
The Rulers may redresse eche wrong:
The Learned may good counsell geue,
But marke the ende, of this my song.
Who dooth these thinges, happy they call,
Their happy ende exceedeth all.

The happiest end, in these our dayes,
That all doo seeke, both small and great:

Is eyther for Fame, or els for Prayse,
Or who may sitte in highest seate.
But of these thinges, hap what hap shall,
The happy ende exceedeth all.

A good beginning oft we see,
But seeldome standyng at one stay:
For fewe doo lyke the meane degree,
Then prayse at parting some men say.
The thing whereto eache wight is thrall,
The happy ende exceedeth all.

The meane estate, that happy life,
Whiche liueth vnder gouernaunce:
Who seekes no hate, nor breedes no strife,
But takes in woorth his happy chaunce,
If contentation him befall,
His happy end, exceedeth all.

The longer lyfe that we desyre,
The more offence dooth dayly growe:
The greater paine it dooth require,
Except the Iudge some mercie shewe.
Wherefore I thinke, and euer shall,
The happy ende exceedeth all.

Finis. *D.* *S.*

[23.] *He perswadeth his freend, from the fond effectes of loue.*

WHY art thou bound, and maist goe free,
Shall reason yeelde to raging wyll?
Is thraldome like to libertie?
Wylt thou exchange thy good for ill?
Then shalt thou learne a childishe play,
And of eche part to taste and proue,
The lookers on, shall iudge and say,
Loe this is he that liues by loue.

Thy

Thy wittes with thoughtes, shal stand at stay,
Thy head shall haue but heauie rest:
Thy eyes shall watche for wanton prayes,
Thy tongue shall shewe thy hartes request.
Thy eares shall heare a thousand noyse,
Thy hand shall put thy pen to paine:
And in the ende, thou shalt dispraise,
The life so spent, for such small gaine.

If leue and list might neuer cope,
Nor youth to runne from reasons race:
Nor yf strong sute might winne sure hope,
I would lesse blame a louers case.
For loue is hotte, with great desire,
And sweete delight makes youth so fond,
That little sparkes wyl prooue great fyre,
And bring free hartes to endlesse bond.

Finis.

[24.] *Wantyng his desyre, he complayneth.*

THe sayling ships with ioy at lenght, do touche the long desired port,
The hewing axe ỹ oke doth waste, ỹ battring Canon breakes ỹ fort.
Hard hagard Haukes stope to ỹ lure, wild colts in time ỹ bridle tames,
There is nothing so out of vre, but to his kinde long time it frames.
Yet this I finde in time, no time can winne my sute,
Though oft the tree I clime, I can not catche the fruite.

And yet the pleasant branches oft, in yeelding wyse to me doo bowe,
When I would touch, they spring aloft, sone are they gone, I wot not (howe:
Thus I pursue ỹ fleting flood, like *Tantalus* in hel belowe,
Would god my case she vnderstood, which can ful sone releue my woe:
Which yf to her were knowen, the fruite were surely mine,
She would not let me grone, and brouse vpon the rine.

But if my ship with tackle turne, with rented sailes must needes retire,
And streame & wind had plainely sworne, by force to hinder my desire:

Like one that strikes vpon ẏ rocks, my weerie wrack I should bewaile
And learne to know false fortunes mocks, who smiles on me to small a-
Yet sith she only can, my rented ship restore, (uaile:
To helpe her wracked man, but once I seeke no more.

Finis. M. Edwardes.

[25.] *Trye before you trust.*

IN freendes are found a heape of doubtes, that double dealing vse,
A swarme of such I could finde out, whose craft I can accuse:
A face for loue, a hart for hate, these faigned freendes can beare,
A tongue for troth, a head for wyles, to hurt eche simple eare.
In humble port is poyson pact, that plainenesse can not spie,
Which credites all, and can not see, where stinging serpentes lye:
Through hastie trust, the harmelesse hart, is easely hampred in,
And made beleeue it is good golde, when it is lead and tin.
The first deceit that bleares mine eyes, is faigned faith profest,
The second trappe, is grating talke, that gripes eche strangers brest.
The third deceit, is greeting woordes, with colours painted out,
Which biddes suspect to feare no smart, nor dread no dangerous dout.
The fourth and last, is long repaire, which creepes in freendships lap:
And dayly hauntes, that vnder trust, deuiseth many a trap.
Lo how false freendes, can frame a fetch, to winne the wil with wyles,
To sauce their sleightes with sugred sops, & shadowe harme w̃ smiles.
To serue their lustes, are sundry sortes, by practise diuers kindes,
Some carries honnie in their mouthes, and venime in their mindes.
Mee thinkes the stones within the streetes, should crie out in this case,
And euery one that doth them meete, should shunne their double face.

Finis. D. S.

[26.] *A Lady forsaken, complayneth.*

IF pleasures be in painefulnesse? in pleasures dooth my body rest,
If ioyes accorde with carefulnesse? a ioyfull hart is in my brest:
If prison strong be libertie? in libertie long haue I been,
If ioyes accord with miserie? who can compare a lyfe to myne.

Who

Who can vnbind that is sore bound? who can make free ẏ is sore thrall
Or how can any meanes be found? to comfort such a wretch withall?
None can, but he ẏ hath my hart, conuert my paines to comfort then,
Yet since his seruant I became, most like a bondman haue I beene:
Since first in bondage I became, my woord and deede was euer such,
That neuer once he could me blame, except from louing him too much.
Which I can iudge no iust offence, nor cause that I deserud disdayne,
Except he meane through false pretēce, through forged loue to make a
Nay nay alas, my fained thoughts my frēded & my fained ruth (traine
My pleasures past my present plaints, shew wel I meane but to much
But since I can not him attaine, against my wil I let him goe, (truth:
And lest he glorie at my paine, I wyl attempt to cloke my woe.
Youth, learne by me, but doo not proue, for I haue proued to my paine,
What greeuous greefes do grow by loue, & what it is to loue in vaine.

Finis. *M. D.*

[27.] *Finding worldly ioyes but vanities, he wysheth death.*

FOrlorne in filthy froward fate, wherein a thousand cares I finde,
By whom I doo lament my state, annoide with fond afflicted mind:
A wretche in woe, and dare not crie,
I liue, and yet I wishe to dye.
The day in dole, that seemeth long, I pas with sighes & heauy cheere,
And with these eyes I vewe the wrong, that I sustaine by louing here:
Where my mishappes as rife doo dwell,
As plagues within the pit of hell.
A wailing wight I walke alone, in desart dennes there to complaine,
Among the sauage sort to mone, I flee my frends where they remaine:
And pleasure take to shun the sight,
Where erst I felt my cheefe delight.
A captiue clapt in chaynes of care, lapt in the lawes of lethall loue,
My fleshe & bones consumed bare, with crauling greefes ful strange to
Though hap dooth bidde me hope at least, (proue:
Whiles grasse dooth growe, yet starues the beast.
A seeged fort with forraine force, for want of ayde, must yeelde at last,
So must my weeried pined corse, submit it selfe to bitter tast:
Of crauling care, that carkes my brest,
Tyll hop or death, shall breede my rest.

Finis. *F. M.*

[28.] *Hauing marryed a woorthy Lady, and taken away by death, he complayneth his mishap.*

IN youth when I at large did leade, my life in lustie libertie,
When heuy thoughtes no one did spreade, to let my pleasant fantesie
No fortune seemd, so hard could fall,
This freedome then, that might make thrall.
And twentie yeres I skarse had spent, whē to make ful my happy fate,
Both treasures great were on me cast, with landes and titles of estate:
So as more blest then I stoode than,
Eke as me thought was neuer man.
For of Dame Fortune who is he, coulde more desyre by iust request,
The health, with wealth, and libertie, al which at once I thus possest:
But maskyng in this ioly ioy,
A soden syght, prooud al a toy.
For passyng on these merie dayes, with new deuice of pleasures great,
And now & then to viewe the rayes, of beauties workes with cunnyng
In heauenly hewes, al which as one, (fret:
I oft behelde, but bounde to none.
And one day rowlyng thus my eyes, vpon these blessed wyghts at ease,
Among the rest one dyd I see, who strayght my wandryng lookes dyd
And stayed them firme, but suche a syght, (sease:
Of beautie yet sawe neuer wyght.
What shal I seke to praise it more, where tongs can not praise ye̊ same,
But to be short to louers lore, I strayght my senses al dyd frame:
And were it wyt, or were it chaunce,
I woonne the Garlande in this daunce.
And thus wher I before had thought, no hap my fortune might encrese,
A double blis this chance forth brought, so did my ladies loue me plese:
Her fayth so firme, and constant suche,
As neuer hart, can prayse too muche.
But now with torments strange I tast, ye̊ fickle stay of fortunes whele,
And where she raysde from height to cast, with greater force, of greefe
For from this hap of soden frowne, (to feele:
Of Princes face she threwe me downe.

And

And thus exchange now hath it made, my libertie a thing most deare,
In hateful prison for to fade, where sundred from my louing feare:
My wealth, and health, standes at like stay,
Obscurely to consume away.
And last when humaine force was none, could part our loue wherin we
My ladyes life alas is gone, most cruel death hath it bereued: (liued,
Whose vertues, her, to God, hath wonne,
And leaft me here, a man vndone.
Finis. F. G.

[29.] *A woorthy dittie, song before the Queenes Maiestie at Bristowe.*

MIstrust not troth, that truely meanes, for euery ielous freke,
In steade of wrong, condemne not right, no hiddē wrath to wreke:
Looke on the light of faultlesse life, how bright her vertues shine,
And measure out her steppes eche one, by leuel and by line.

Deeme eche desert by vpright gesse, whereby your prayse shal liue,
If malice would be match with might, let hate no iudgement geue:
Enforse no feare with wresting wittes, in quiet conscience brest,
Lend not your eares to busie tongues, which breedeth much vnrest.

In doubtfull driftes wade not to farre, it weeries but the mind,
Seeke not to search the secret harts, whose thoughtes are hard to find:
Auoide from you those hatefull heads, that helpes to heape mishapp,
Be slowe to heare the flatterers voyce, which creepeth in your lapp.

Embrace their loue that wills you good, and sport not at their praise,
Trust not too much vnto your selfe, for feeble are your staies:
Howe can your seate be setled fast, or stand on stedfast ground,
So propped vp with hollowe hartes, whose suertie is vnsound.

Geue faith to those that feare for loue, and not that loue for feare,
Regard not them that force compels, to please you euery where:
All this well waide and borne away, shall stablishe long your state,
Continually with perfect peace, in spite of puffing hate.
Finis. D. S.

His

[30.] *His good name being blemished, he bewayleth.*

FRaud is the front of Fortune past all recouerie,
I stayles stand, to abide the shocke of shame and infamie.
My life through lingring long is lodge, in lare of lothsome wayes,
My death delaide to keepe from life, the harme of haplesse dayes:
My sprites, my hart, my witte and force, in deepe distresse are dround,
The only losse of my good name, is of these greefes the ground.

And since my mind, my wit, my head, my voyce, and tongue are weake
To vtter, mooue, deuise, conceiue, sound foorth, declare, and speake:
Such pearsing plaintes, as answeare might, or would my wofull case,
Helpe, craue I must, and craue I wyll, with teares vpon my face:
Of al that may in heauen or hell, in earth or ayre be found,
To wayle with me this losse of mine, as of these greefes the ground.

Helpe gods, helpe saintes, helpe sprites & powers, ẏ in the heauen doo
Helpe ye ẏ are to wayle aye woont, ye howling hounds of hel: (dwel,
Helpe man, helpe beasts, helpe birds, & wormes, ẏ on ẏ earth doth toile
Helpe fishe, helpe foule, that flocks and feedes vpon the salt sea soyle:
Helpe eccho that in ayre dooth flee, shryl voyces to resound,
To wayle this losse of my good name, as of these greefes the ground.

Finis. E. O.

[31.] *Of Fortunes power.*

POlicrates whose passing happe, causd him to lose his fate,
A golden ryng cast in the seas, to change his constant state,
And in a fishe yet at his bourd, the same he after found,
Thus Fortune loe, to whom she takes, for bountie dooth abound.

The myzers vnto might she mountes, a common case we see,
And mightie in great miserie, she sets in lowe degree:
Whom she to day dooth reare on hie, vpon her whirling wheele,
To morowe next she dingeth downe, and casteth at her heele.

No

No measure hath shee in her gifts, shee doth reward eache sort.
The wise that counsell haue, no more then fooles that maketh sport.
Shee vseth neuer partiall handes for to offend or please,
Geue me good Fortune all men sayes, and throw me in the seas.

It is no fault or worthines, that makes men fall or rise,
I rather be borne Fortunate, then to be very wise.
The blindest man right soone, that by good Fortune guided is,
To whome that pleasant Fortune pipes, can neuer daunce amis.

Finis. *M. Edwardes.*

[32.] *Though Triumph after bloudy warres, the greatest brags do beare:*
Yet Triumph of a conquered minde, the crowne of Fame shall weare.

WHo so doth marke the carelesse life, of these vnhappie dayes,
And sees what small and slender hold, the state of vertue stayes:
He findes that this accursed trade, proceedeth of this ill,
That men be giuen, too much to yeelde to their vntamed will.

In lacke of taming witlesse wil, the poore we often see
Enuies the ritch, because that he, his equall cannot bee:
The rich aduauncd to might by wealth, from wrong doth not refraine,
But will oppresseth weaker sort, to heape excessiue gaine.

If Fortune were so blinde, to geue to one man what he will,
A world would not suffise the same, if he might haue his fill:
We wish, we searche, we striue for all, and haue no more therin
Then hath ỹ slaue, when death doth come, though *Cresus* welth we win.

In getting much, we get but care, such brittle wealth to keepe,
The rich within his walles of stone doth neuer soundly sleepe:
When poore in weake and slender house, doe feare no losse of wealth,
And haue no further care but this, to keepe them selues in health.

Affection may not hide the sword of sway, in iudgement seat,
Least partiall law doe execute the lawe in causes great:
But if the minde in constant state, affection quite doe leaue,
The higher state shall haue their rights, the poore no wrong receaue.

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It is accompted greater praise to *Ceasars* loftie state,
Against his vanquist foes, in warres to bridle wrekefull hate:
Then when to *Rome* he had subdued, the people long vnknowne,
Wherby as farre as land was found, the same abrode was blowne.

If honor can selfe will refuse, and iustice be vpright,
And priuate state desires but that, which good appeares in sight:
Then vertue shall with soueraigne show, to euery eye reueale
A heauenly life, a wealefull state, a happie common weale.

Let vertue then the Triumph win, and gouerne all your deedes,
Your yeelding to her sober heastes, immortall glory breedes:
Shee shall vpreare your worthy name, shew then vnto the skies,
Her beames shall shine in graue obscure, where shrined carkesse lies.

Finis. *M. Edwardes.*

[33.] *Of perfect wisedome.*

WHo so will be accompted wise, and truely claime the same,
By ioyning vertue to his deedes, he must atchieue the same:
But fewe there be, that seeke thereby true wisedome to attaine,
O God, so rule our hearts therefore, such fondnesse to refraine.

The wisedome which we most esteeme, in this thing doth consist,
With glorious talke to shew in wordes our wisedome when we list.
Yet not in talke, but seemely deedes, our wisedome we should place,
To speake so faire, and doe but ill, doth wisedome quite disgrace.

To bargaine well, and shunne the losse, a wisedome counted is,
And thereby through the greedie coyne, no hope of grace to mis.
To seeke by honoure to aduaunce his name to brittle praise,
Is wisedome, which we daily see, increaseth in our dayes.

But heauenly wisedome sower seemes to hard for them to win,
And weary of the sute they seeme, when they doe once begin:
It teacheth vs to frame our life, while vitall breth we haue,
When it dissolueth earthly masse, the soule from death to saue.

By

By feare of God to rule our steppes, from sliding into vice,
A wisedome is, which we neglect, although of greater price:
A poynt of wisedome also this, we commonly esteeme,
That euery man should be in deede, that he desires to seeme.

To bridle that desire of gaine, which forceth vs to ill,
Our hawtie stomackes Lord represse, to tame presuming will:
This is the wisedome that we should, aboue eache thing desire,
O heauenly God from sacred throne, that grace in vs inspire.

And print in our repugnant hearts, the rules of wisedome true,
That all our deedes in worldly life, may like thereof insue:
Thou onely art the liuing spring, from whome this wisedome flowes,
O washe therewith our sinfull heartes, from vice that therin growes.

Finis. *M. Edwardes.*

[34.] *A frendly admonition.*

YE stately wightes, that liue in quiet rest
Through worldly wealth, which God hath giuen to you.
Lament with teares and sighes from dolefull brest:
The shame and power that vice obtaineth now.
Behold how God doth daily profer grace,
Yet we disdaine, repentance to embrace.

The suddes of sinne doe sucke into the mind,
And cancred vice doth vertue quite expell,
No chaunge to good alasse can resting finde:
Our wicked hearts so stoutly doe rebell.
Not one there is that hasteth to amend,
Though God from heauen his daily threates doe send.

We are so slow to chaunge our blamefull life,
We are so prest to snatche aluring vice:
Such greedie hartes on euery side be rife.
So few that guide their will by counsell wise,
To let our teares lament the wretched case,
And call to God for vndeserued grace.

You worldly wightes, that haue your fancies fixt
On slipper ioy of terreine pleasure here:
Let some remorse in all your deedes be mixt.
Whiles you haue time let some redresse appere.
Of sodaine Death the houre you shall not know,
And looke for Death although it seemeth slow.

Oh be no iudge in other mens offence,
But purge thy selfe and seeke to make thee free,
Let euery one applie his diligence,
A chaunge to good with in him selfe to see:
O God direct our feete in such a stay,
From cancred vice to shame the hatefull way.
Finis. *R. Hill.*

[35.] *Sundrie men, sundrie affectes.*

IN euery wight some sondrie sort of pleasure I doe finde,
Which after he doth seeke to ease his toyling minde.
Diana with her training chase, of hunting had delight,
Against the fearefull Deare, shee could direct her shotte aright.
The loftie yeares in euery age, doth still imbrace the same,
The sport is good, if vertue doe assist the chearefull game.

Minerua in her chattering armes her courage doth aduaunce,
In triall of the bloudie warres, shee giueth luckie chaunce.
For sauegard men imbrace the same, which doe so needefull seeme,
That noble heartes their cheefe delights in vse therof esteeme.
In warlike games to ride or trie the force of armes they vse,
And base the man we doe accompt, that doth the same refuse.

The siluer sound of musickes cordes, doth please *Apollos* wit,
A science which the heauens aduaunce, where it deserues to sit.
A pleasure apt for euery wight, releefe to carefull minde,
For woe redresse, for care a salue, for sadnesse helpe we finde.
The soueraigne praise of Musicke still, doth cause the Poetes faine,
That whirling Spheres, and eke the heauens, do hermonie retaine.

I heard

I heard that these three powers, at variaunce lately fell,
Whiles eache did praise his owne delight, the other to excell.
Then Fame, as one indifferent iudge, to ende the case they call,
The praise pronounced by her to them, indifferently doth fall.
Diana health and strength maintaine, *Minerua* force doth tame,
And Musicke geues sweete delight, to further other game.

These three delightes to hawtie mindes, the worthiest are estemed,
If vertue be anexed to them, they rightly be so demed.
With ioy they doe releeue the witte with sorrow oft opprest,
And neuer suffer solempne greefe too long in minde to rest.
Be wise in mirth, and seeke delight, the same doe not abuse,
In honest mirth, a happie ioy we ought not to refuse.

Finis. *R. Hill.*

[36.] *Time giues experience.*

WE reade what paines the powers deuine,
Through wrath conceiued by some offence,
To mortall creatures they assigne
Their due desartes for recompence.
What endlesse paine they must endure,
Which their offences did procure.

A Gripe doth *Titius* Liuer teare
His greedie hungrie gorge to fill,
And *Sisiphus* must euer beare
The rowling stone against the hill.
A number moe in hell be found,
Which thus to endlesse paine are bound.

Yet all the woe that they sustaine,
Is nothing to the paine of me,
Which cometh through the proude disdaine
Of one, that doth to loue repine:
Therefore I crie woe worth the houre,
Since first I fell in *Venus* power.

The gnawing gripes of irksome thought,
Consumes my heart with *Titius* griefe:
I also haue full vainly wrought,
With *Sisiphus* without reliefe.
Euen when I hope to ende my paine,
I must renue my sute againe.

Yet will I not seeme so vntrue,
To leaue a thing so late begone:
A better happe may yet insue,
The strongest towres in time be wonne.
In time therefore, my trust I place,
Who must procure desired grace.

Finis. *R.* *H.*

[37.] *Of sufferance cometh ease.*

TO seeme for to reuenge eache wrong in hastie wise,
By proofe we see of guiltlesse men, it hath not bene the guise.
In slaunders lothsome brute, where they condemned bee,
With ragelesse moode they suffer wrong, where truth shal trie thē free.
These are the patient panges, that passe within the brest
Of those, that feele their cause by mine, where wrōg hath right opprest.
I know how by suspect, I haue bene iudgd awrie,
And graunted giltie in the thing, that cleerely I denie:
My faith may me defend, if I might loued be,
God iudge me so, as from the guilt I know me to be free.
I wrote but for my selfe, the griefe was all mine owne,
As, who would proue extremitie, by proofe it might be knowne.
Yet are there suche, that say, they can my meaning deeme,
Without respect of this olde trothe, things proue not as they seeme.
Whereby it may befall, in iudgement to be quicke,
To make them selues suspect therewith, that needed not to kicke.
Yet in resisting wrong, I would not haue it thought
I do amisse, as though I knew by whome it might be wrought.
If any suche there be, that heerewithall be vext,
It were their vertue to beware, and deeme me better next.

Finis. *E.* *S.*

[38.] *Being*

[38.] *Being trapped in Loue he complayneth.*

THe hidden woes that swelleth in my hart,
Brings forth suche sighes, as filles the aire with smoke:
The golden beames, thorow this his fierie dart,
Dare not abide, the answere of the stroke.
Which stroke, although it dazed me some dele,
Yet nature taught my hand to worke his kinde,
Wherewith I raught to pull away the stele,
But to my paine, it left my head behinde,
That fastned hath my heart so neare the pith,
Except suche salue, as when the Scorpion stinges,
I might receiue to heale my wounde therewith:
In vaine for ease, my tongue alwayes it ringes.
And I for paines, shall pearish through her guilt,
That can reioyce, to see how I am spilt.

Finis. *E. S.*

[39.] *Though Fortune haue sette thee on hie,*
Remember yet that thou shalt die.

TO die, Dame nature did man frame,
Death is a thing most perfect sure:
We ought not natures workes to blame,
Shee made nothing, still to endure.
That lawe shee made, when we were borne,
That hence we should retourne againe:
To render right, we must not scorne,
Death is due debt, it is no paine.

The ciuill lawe, doth bidde restore
That thou hast taken vp of trust:
Thy life is lent, thou must therfore
Repay, except thou be vniust.
This life is like a poynted race,
To the ende wherof when man hath trode,
He must returne to former place,
He may not still remaine abrode.

Death

Death hath in all the earth aright,
His power is great, it stretcheth farre:
No Lord, no Prince, can scape his might,
No creature can his duetie barre.
The wise, the iust, the strong, the hie,
The chast, the meeke, the free of hart,
The rich, the poore, who can denie,
Haue yeelded all vnto his dart.

Could *Hercules* that tamde eache wight?
Or else *Vlisses* with his witte?
Or *Ianus* who had all foresight?
Or chast *Hypolit* scape the pitte?
Could *Cresus* with his bagges of golde?
Or *Irus* with his hungrie paine?
Or *Signus* through his hardinesse bolde?
Driue backe the dayes of Death againe.

Seeing no man then can Death escape,
Nor hire him hence for any gaine:
We ought not feare his carraine shape,
He onely brings euell men to paine.
If thou haue ledde thy life aright,
Death is the ende of miserie:
If thou in God hast thy delight,
Thou diest to liue eternallie.

Eache wight therefore while he liues heere,
Let him thinke on his dying day:
In midst of wealth, in midst of cheere,
Let him accompt he must away.
This thought, makes man to God a frend,
This thought doth banish pride and sinne:
This thought doth bring a man in thend,
Where he of Death the field shall win.

[40.] *All*

[40.] *All thinges ar Vaine.*

ALthough the purple morning, bragges in brightnes of the sunne,
As though he had of chased night, a glorious conquest wonne:
The Time by day, giues place againe to forse of drowsie night,
And euery creature is constraind, to chaunge his lustie plight.
Of pleasures all, that heere we taste:
We feele the contrary at laste.
In spring, though pleasant *Zephirus*, hath frutefull earth inspired,
And nature hath each bushe, each branch, with blossomes braue attired:
Yet fruites and flowers, as buds and blomes, full quickly witherd be,
When stormie Winter comes to kill, the Somers iolitie.
By Time are gotte, by Time are lost
All things, wherein we pleasure most.
Although the Seas so calmely glide, as daungers none appeare,
And dout of stormes, in skie is none, king *Phebus* shines so cleare:
Yet when the boistrous windes breake out, and raging waues do swel,
The seely barke now heaues to heauen, now sinkes againe to hel.
Thus chaunge in euery thing we see,
And nothing constant, seemes to bee.
Who floweth most in worldly wealth, of wealth is most vnsure,
And he that cheefely tastes of ioy, doth sometime woe indure:
Who vaunteth most of numbred frends, forgoe them all he must,
The fairest flesh and liuelest bloud, is turnd at length to dust.
Experience geues a certaine grounde,
That certen heere, is nothing founde.
Then trust to that which aye remaines, the blisse of heauens aboue,
Which Time, nor Fate, nor Winde, nor Storme, is able to remoue:
Trust to that sure celestiall rocke, that restes in glorious throne,
That hath bene, is, and must be still, our anker holde alone.
The world is but a vanitie,
In heauen seeke we our suretie.

Finis. *F. K.*

[41.] *A vertuous Gentle woman in the praise of hir Loue.*

I Am a Virgine faire and free, and freely doe reioyce,
I sweetely warble sugred notes, from siluer voyce:
For which delightfull ioyes, yet thanke I curtesie loue,
By whose allmightie power, such sweete delites I proue,

I walke the pleasant fieldes, adornd with liuely greene,
And view the fragrant flowres, most louely to be seene:
The purple Columbine, the Cousloppe and the Lillie,
The Violet sweete, the Daizie and Daffadillie.

The Woodbines on the hedge, the red Rose and the white,
And eache fine flowres else, that rendreth sweete delite:
Among the which I choose, all those of seemeliest grace,
In thought, resembling them to my deare louers face.

His louely face I meane, whose golden flouring giftes,
His euer liuing Fame, to loftie skie vpliftes:
Whom louing me I loue, onely for vertues sake,
When vertuously to loue, all onely care I take.

Of all which freshe faire flowers, that flowre that doth appeare
In my conceit most like to him I holde so deare.
I gather it, I kisse it, and eake deuise with it,
Suche kinde of liuely speeche, as is for louers fit.

And then of all my flowres, I make a garland fine,
With which my golden wyer heares, together I doe twine:
And sette it on my head, so taking that delight,
That I would take, had I my louer still in sight.

For as in goodly flowres, myne eyes great pleasure finde,
So are my louers gyftes, most pleasant to my minde:
Vpon which vertuous gyftes, I make more sweete repast,
Then they that for loue sportes, the sweetest ioyes doo tast.

Finis. M. K.

[42.] *Oppressed with sorowe, he wysheth death.*

IF Fortune may enforce, the carefull hart to cry,
And griping greefe constrayne, the wounded wight lament:
Who then alas to mourne, hath greater cause then I,
Agaynst whose hard mishap, both Heauen and Earth are bent.

For

For whom no helpe remaynes, for whom no hope is left:
From whom all happy happes is fled, and pleasure quite bereft.
Whose lyfe nought can prolong, whose health nought can assure:
Whose death, oh pleasant port of peace, no creature can procure.
Whose passed proofe of pleasant ioy,
Mischaunce hath chaunged, to greefes anoy:
And loe, whose hope of better day,
Is ouerwhelmd with long delay.
Oh hard mishap.
Eache thing I plainely see, whose vertues may auayle,
To ease the pinching payne, which gripes the groning wyght:
By Phisickes sacred skill, whose rule dooth seldome fayle,
Through labours long inspect, is playnely brought to lyght.
I knowe, there is no fruite, no leafe, no roote, no rynde,
No hearbe, no plant, no iuyce, no gumme, no mettal deepely mind:
No Pearle, no Precious stone, ne Ieme of rare effect,
Whose vertues, learned *Gallens* bookes, at lardge doo not detect.
Yet all theyr force can not appease,
The furious fyttes of my disease,
Nor any drugge of Phisickes art,
Can ease the greefe, that gripes my hart.
Oh straunge disease.
I heare the wyse affyrme, that Nature hath in store,
A thousand secrete salues, which Wysdome hath outfound:
To coole the scorching heate of euery smarting sore:
And healeth deepest scarre, though greeuous be the wound.
The auncient prouerbe sayes, that none so festred greefe,
Dooth grow, for which the gods them selues, haue not ordeynd releefe.
But I by proofe doo knowe, such prouerbes to be vayne,
And thinke that Nature neuer knewe, the plague which I sustayne.
And so not knowyng my distresse,
Hath leaft my greefe remedilesse,
For why, the heauens for me prepare,
To liue in thought, and dye in care.
Oh lastyng payne.
By chaunge of ayre I see, by haute of healthfull soyle,
By dyet duely kept, grose humours are expeld:

I know that greefes of minde, and inward heartes turmoile,
By faithfull frendes aduise, in time may be repeld.
Yet all this nought auailes, to kill that me anoyes,
I meane to stoppe these floudes of care, that ouerflow my ioyes.
No none exchaunge of place, can chaunge my lucklesse lot,
Like one I liue, and so must die, whome Fortune hath forgot.
No counsell can preuaile with mee,
Nor sage aduise with greefe agree:
For he that feeles the paines of hell,
Can neuer hope in heauen to dwell.
Oh deepe despaire.
What liues on earth but I, whose trauaile reapes no gaine,
The wearyed Horse and Oxe, in stall and stable rest:
The Ante with sommers toyle, beares out the winters paine,
The Fowle that flies all day, at night retournes to rest.
The Ploughmans weary worke, amid the winters mire,
Rewarded is with somers gaine, which yeeldes him double hire:
The sillye laboring soule, which drudges from day to day,
At night, his wages truely paide, contented goth his way.
And comming home, his drowsie hed
He cowcheth close in homely bed:
Wherein no sooner downe he lies,
But sleepe hath straight possest his eyes.
Oh happie man.
The Souldier biding long, the brunt of mortall warres,
Where life is neuer free, from dint of deadly foyle:
At last comes ioyfull home, though mangled all with scarres,
Where frankly, voyde of feare, he spendes the gotten spoyle.
The Pirate lying long, amidde the fooming floodes,
With euery flawe in hazard is, to loose both life and goodes.
At length findes view of land, where wished Porte he spies,
Which once obtained, among his mates, he partes the gotten prise.
Thus euery man, for trauaile past,
Doth reape a iust reward at last:
But I alone, whose troubled minde,
In seeking rest, vnrest doth finde.
Oh lucklesse lotte.
Oh curssed

Oh curssed caitife wretche, whose heauie harde mishappe,
Doth wish tenne thousande times, that thou hadst not bene borne:
Since fate hathe thee condemned, to liue in sorrowes lappe.
Where waylinges waste thy life, of all redresse forlorne.
What shall thy griefe appease? who shall thy torment stay?
Wilt thou thy selfe, with murthering handes, enforce thy owne decay?
No, farre be thou from me, my selfe to stoppe my breath,
The gods forbid, whom I beseeche, to worke my ioyes by death.
For lingering length of lothed life,
Doth stirre in mee such mortall strife:
That whiles for life and death I crie,
In Death I liue, and liuing die.
Oh froward fate.
Loe heere my hard mishappe, loe heere my straunge disease,
Loe heere my deepe despaire, loe heere my lasting paine:
Loe heere my froward fate, which nothing can appease.
Loe heere how others toyle, rewarded is with gaine.
While luckelesse, loe, I liue in losse of laboures due,
Compeld by proofe of torment strong, my endlesse greefe to rue.
In which, since needes I must, consume both youth and age
If olde I liue, and that my care no comfort can asswage.
Henceforth I banishe from my brest,
All frustrate hope of future rest,
And truthlesse trust to times reward,
With all respectes of ioyes regard,
Here I forsweare.

[43.] *Where reason makes request, there wisedome ought supplie,*
With friendly answere prest, to graunt or else denie.

I Sigh? why so? for sorrowe of her smart.
I morne? wherfore? for greefe that shee complaines.
I pitie? what? her ouerpressed hart.
I dread? what harme? the daunger shee sustaines,
I greeue? where at? at her oppressing paines.
I feele? what forse? the fittes of her disease,
Whose harme doth me and her, alike displease.

I hope, what happe? her happy healthes retyre,
I wishe, what wealth? no wealth, nor worldly store
But craue, what craft? by cunnyng to aspyre
Some skyll, whereto? to salue her sickly sore.
What then? why then would I her health restore,
Whose harme me hurtes, howe so? so woorkes my wyll
To wyshe my selfe and her, lyke good and yll.

What moues the mind, whereto? to such desyre
Ne force, ne fauour, what then? free fancies choyse:
Art thou to choose? my charter to require
Eache Ladyes loue is fred by customes voyce,
Yet are there grauntes, the euidence of theyr choyse.
What then, our freedome is at lardge in choosyng,
As womens willes are froward in refusing.

Wotes she thy wyll? she knowes what I protest,
Daynde she thy sute? she daungerd not my talke:
Gaue she consent? she graunted my request,
What dydst thou craue? the roote, the fruite, or stalke,
I asked them all, what gaue she, Cheese, or chalke?
That taste must try, what taste? I meane the proofe
Of freendes, whose wyls withhold her bowe aloofe.

Meanst thou good fayth? what els, hopest thou to speede?
Why not, O foole vntaught in carpet trade,
Knowest not what proofes from such delayes proceede,
Wylt thou like headles Cocke be caught in glade?
Art thou like Asse, too apt for burden made?
Fy, fy, wyl thou for saint adore the shrine?
And woo her freend, eare she be wholy thine?

Who drawes this drift? moued she, or thou this match?
Twas I: oh foole, vnware of womens wyles,
Long mayst thou wayte, like hungry houndes at hatche,
She crafty Foxe, the seely Goose beguiles.

Thy

Thy sute is shaped so fyt for long delay,
That shee at wyll may chek, from yea to nay,

But in good soothe, tell me her frendes intent:
Best learne it first, their purpose I not knowe,
Why then thy will to woorse and worse is bent,
Dost thou delight, the vnkindled cole to blowe?
Or childelike louest, in anckred bote to rowe,
What meane these tẹrmes? who sith thy sute is such,
Know of or on, or thou afect to much.

No haste but good, why no, the meane is best,
Admit shee loue, mislike in lingring growes:
Suppose shee is caught, then Woodcocke on thy crest,
Till end approues, what skornefull sedes shee sowes.
In loytring loue, such dangers ebbes and flowes,
What helpe herein? why wake in dangerous watch,
That too, nor fro, may make thee marre the match:

Is that the way to ende my wery woorke?
By quicke dispatch, to lesson long turmoyle,
Well well, though losse in lingering wontes to lurke,
And I a foole, most fitte to take the foyle:
Yet proofe from promise, neuer shall recoyle.
My woordes with deedes, and deedes with woordes shal wend,
Tyll shee, or hers, gaynesay that I entend.

Art thou so fond? not fond, but firmely fast,
Why foole, her freendes wote how thy wyl is bent:
Yet thou lyke doult, whose witte and sense is past,
Sest not what frumpes, doo folowe thy entent.
Ne knowe, how loue in lewe of skorne is lent,
Adewe, for sightes such folly should preuent.
Well well, their skoffes with scornes might be repaid,
If my requestes were fully yead or nayd.

Well, well, let these with wisedomes paise be waide,
And in your chest of cheefest secreates laide.
What is, or may be mine,
That is, and shall be thine:
Till death the twist vntwine,
That doth our loues combine.
But if thy heart repine,
Thy body should be mine.
Shew me thereof some sine,
That I may slacke the line,
That knitts thy will to mine.

Finis. My Lucke is losse.

[44.] *Donec eris Felix multos numerabis amicos,*
Nullus ad amissus ibit amicus opes.

EUen as the Rauen, the Crowe, and greedie Kite
Doe swarming flocke, where carren corpes doth fall:
And tiring teare with beake and talentes might,
Both skin and fleshe to gorge their guttes withall.
And neuer cease, but gather moe to moe,
Doe all to pull the carkase too and froe,
Till bared bones at last they leaue behinde,
And seeke elsewhere, some fatter foode to finde.

Euen so I see, where wealth doth waxe at will,
And Golde doth growe to heapes of great encrease:
There frendes resort, and profering frendship still,
Full thicke they throng, with neuer ceasing prease.
And slilie make a shew of true intent,
When nought but guile, and inwarde hate is ment:
For when mischaunce shall chaunge such wealth to want,
They packe them thence, to place of ritcher haunt.

Finis. My Lucke is losse.

[45.] *What ioye to a contented mynde.*

THe faithe that failes, must nedes be thought vntrue,
The frende that faines, who holdeth not vniust,
Who likes that loue, that chaungeth still for newe:
Who hopes for truthe, where trothe is voide of trust,
No faithe, no frende, no loue, no trothe so sure,
But rather failes then stedfastly endure.

What head so staied? that altereth not intent,
What thought so sure? that stedfast doeth remaine,
What witte so wise? that neuer nedes repent:
What tonge so true? but sometyme wonts to faine,
What foote so firme? that neuer treads awrie,
What soner dimde? then sight of clerest eye.

What harte so fixt? but sone enclines to change,
What moode so milde? that neuer moued debate:
What faithe so strong? but lightly likes to range,
What loue so true? that neuer learnde to hate.
What life so pure? that lasts, without offence,
What worldly mynde? but moues with ill pretence.

What knot so fast? that maie not be vntide,
What seale so sure? but fraude or forse shall breke:
What prop of staye? but one tyme shrinks aside,
What ship so stanche? that neuer had a leke.
What graunt so large? that no exception maks,
What hoped helpe? but frende at nede forsaks.

What seate so high? but lowe to grounde maie fall,
What hap so good? that neuer founde mislike:
What state so sure? but subiect is to thrall
What force preuailes? where Fortune liste to strike.
What wealth so muche? but tyme maie turne to want,
What store so greate? but wastyng maketh skant.

What profites hope in depth of dangers thrall,
What ruste in tyme, but waxeth worse and worse:
What helpes good harte, if Fortune froune withall,
What blessyng thriues, gainst heauenly helples curse.
What winnes desire, to get and can not gaine,
What botes to wishe and neuer to obtaine.

Finis. *My lucke is losse.*

[46.] *Amantium iræ amoris redintigratia est.*

IN goyng to my naked bedde, as one that would haue slept,
I heard a wife syng to her child, that long before had wept:
She sighed sore and sang full sore, to bryng the babe to rest,
That would not rest but cried still, in suckyng at her brest.
She was full wearie of her watche, and greued with her child,
She rocked it and rated it, vntill on her it smilde:
Then did she saie now haue I founde, the prouerbe true to proue,
The fallyng out of faithfull frends, is the renuyng of loue.

Then tooke I paper, penne and ynke, this prouerbe for to write,
In regester for to remaine, of suche a worthie wight:
As she proceded thus, in song vnto her little bratte,
Muche matter vttered she of waight, in place whereas she satte.
And proued plaine, there was no beast, nor creature bearyng life,
Could well be knowne to liue in loue, without discorde and strife:
Then kissed she her little babe, and sware by God aboue,
The fallyng out of faithfull frends, is the renuyng of loue.

She saied that neither kyng ne prince, ne lorde could liue aright,
Vntill their puissance thei did proue, their manhode & their might.
When manhode shalbe matched so, that feare can take no place,
Then wearie works makes warriours, eche other to embrace.
And leaue their forse that failed thē, whiche did consume the rout,
That might before haue liued their tyme, and nature out:
Then did she syng as one that thought, no man could her reproue,
The fallyng out of faithfull frendes, is the renuyng of loue.

She

She saied she sawe no fishe ne foule, nor beast within her haunt,
That mett a straunger in their kinde, but could geue it a taunt:
Since fleshe might not indure, but reste must wrathe succede,
And forse the fight to fall to plaie, in pasture where thei feede.
So noble nature can well ende, the works she hath begone,
And bridle well that will not cease, her tragedy in some:
Thus in her songe she oft reherst, as did her well behoue,
The fallyng out of faithfull frends, is the renuyng of loue.

I meruaile muche pardy quoth she, for to beholde the route,
To see man, woman, boy & beast, to tosse the worlde about: (ly smile
Some knele, some crouch, some beck, some check, & some cā smoth
And some embrace others in armes, and there thinke many a wile.
Some stande aloufe at cap and knee, some humble and some stout,
Yet are thei neuer frends indeede, vntill thei once fall out:
Thus ended she her song, and saied before she did remoue,
The fallyng out of faithfull frends, is the renuyng of loue.

M.Edwardes.

[47.] *Thinke to dye.*

THe life is long, whiche lothsomely doeth laste,
The dolfull daies drawe slowly to their date:
The present panges, and painfull plags forepast,
Yelds greffe aye grene, to stablishe this estate.
So that I feele in this greate storme and strife,
That death is sweete, that shorteneth suche a life.

And by the stroke of this straunge ouerthrowe,
All whiche conflict in thraldome I was thrust:
The Lorde be praised, I am well taught to knowe,
From whens man came, and eke whereto he must.
And by the waie, vpon how feble force,
His terme doeth stande, till death doeth ende his course.

The pleasant yeres that semes so swetely ronne,
The mery daies to ende, so fast that flete:
The ioyfull wights, of whiche daies dawes so sone,

The happie howrs, whiche mo doe misse then mete.
Doe all consume as snowe against the Sonne,
And death maks ende of all that life begonne.

Since death shall dure till all the worlde be wast,
What meaneth man, to dread death then so sore?
As man might make, that life should alwaie last,
Without regard, the Lorde hath ledde before.
The daunce of death, whiche all must runne on rowe,
The hower wherein onely hym self doeth knowe.

If man would mynde, what burdeins life doeth bryng,
What greuous crimes to God, he doeth commit:
What plagues, what panges, what perill thereby spryng,
With no sure hower in all his daies to sit.
He would sure thinke, and with greate cause I doo,
The daie of death is happier of the twoo.

Death is the doore whereby we drawe to ioye,
Life is a lake, that drowneth all in paine:
Death is so dole it seaseth all awaie,
Life is so leude that all it yelds is vaine.
And as by life, in bondage man is brought,
Euen so by death is freedome likewise wrought.

Wherefore with Paule, let all men wishe and praie,
To be disolued of this foule fleshly masse:
Or at the least be armed against the daie,
That thei be founde good souldiers prest to passe.
From life to death, from death to life againe,
And suche a life as euer shall remaine.

Finis. D. S.

[48.] *Beyng asked the occasion of his white head, he aunswereth thus.*

*VV*Here sethyng sighes and sower sobbs,
Hath slaine the slipps that nature sett:

And

And skaldyng showers with stonie throbbs,
The kindly sappe from them hath fett.
What wonder then though you doe see,
Vpon my head white heeres to bee.

Where thought hath thrild and throne his speares,
To hurt the harte that harmth hym not:
And gronyng grief hath grounde forthe teares,
Myne eyne, to staine my face to spot.
What wonder then though you doe see,
Vpon my head white heeres to bee.

Where pinchyng paine hym self hath plaste,
There peace with pleasures were possest:
And walles of wealth are fallen to waste,
And pouertie in them is prest.
What wonder then, though you doe see,
Vpon my head white heeres to bee.

Where wretched woe doeth weaue her webbe,
There care the clewe, can catche and caste:
And floudds of ioye are fallen to ebbe
So loe, that life maie not long laste.
What wonder then, though you doe see,
Vpon my head white heeres to bee.

These heeres of age are messengers,
Whiche bidd me, fast repent and praie:
Thei be of death the harbingers,
That doeth prepare, and dresse the waie.
Wherefore I ioye, that you maie see,
Vpon my head suche heeres to bee.

Thei be the line that lead the length,
How farre my race was for to ronne:
Thei saie my yongth is fledde with strength,
And how old age, is well begonne.

The whiche I feele, and you maie see,
Vpon my head suche lines to bee.

Thei be the stryngs of sober sounde,
Whose Musicke is hermonicall:
Their tunes declare, a tyme from grounde
I came, and how thereto I shall.
Wherefore I ioye that you maie see,
Vpon my head suche stryngs to bee.

God graunt to those that white heeres haue,
No worse them take, then I haue ment:
That after thei be laied in graue,
Their soules maie ioye their liues well spent,
God graunt likewise that you maie see,
Vpon my head suche heeres to bee.

Finis. L. V.

[49. *The Louer wisheth himselfe an Harte in the Foreste, (as Acteon was) for his Ladyes sake.*]

I Would to God I were **Acteon**, that **Diana** did disguise,
To walke the Forest vp and doune, whereas my ladie lies:
An Harte of heere and hewe, I wishe that I were so,
So that my Ladie knewe me, onely and no mo.
The shalyng Nutts and Maste, that falleth from the tree,
Should well suffice for my repast, might I my ladie see:
It should not greue me, there in frost, to lye vpon the grounde,
Delite should easly quite the coste, what euill so that I founde.
Sometyme that I might saie, when I sawe her alone,
Beholde, see yonder slaue aldaie, that walketh the woodds alone.

Finis.M.B.

[50. *Beeing forsaken of his frend he complaineth.*]

WHy should I lenger long to liue,
In this desease of fantasie,
Sins fortune doeth not cease to giue,
Things to my mynde moste contrarie.
And at my ioyes doeth lowre and froune,
Till she hath tourned them vpsidoune.

Affrende

A ffrende I had to me moste dere,
And of long tyme faithfull and iuste:
There was no one, my harte so nere,
Nor one in whom I had more truste.
Whom now of late without cause why,
Fortune hath made my enemie.

The grasse me thinks should growe in skie
The starres, vnto the yearth cleaue faste:
The water streame should passe awrie,
The winds should leue their strēgt of blast.
The Sonne and Moone by one assent,
Should bothe forsake the firmament.

The fishe in ayer should flie with finne,
The foules in floud should bryng forth fry
All thyngs me thinks should erst beginne,
To take their course vnnaturally.
Afore my frende should alter so,
Without a cause to bee my foe.

But suche is Fortunes hate I saie,
Suche is her will on me to wreake:
Suche spite she hath at me alwaie,
And ceasseth not my harte to breake.
With suche dispite of crueltie,
Wherefore then longer liue should I.

Finis.E.S.

[51.] *Prudens. The historie of Damacles, & Dionise.*

WHoso is set in princly trone, and craueth rule to beare,
Is still beset on euery side, with perill and with feare.
High trees by stormie winds are shakt, & rent vp frō the
and flashy flaks of lightnings flames on turrets do reboūd (groūd
When little shrubs in sauetie lurke, in couert all alowe,

And

And freshly florishe in their kynde, what euer winde doe blowe.
The cruell kyng of **Scisily**: who fearyng Barbars hands,
Was wont to singe his beard hym self, with cole and fire brands.
Hath taught vs this, the proofe whereof, full plainly we maye see,
Was neuer thyng more liuely touched, to shewe it so to bee.
This kyng did seme to **Damacles**, to be the happiest wight,
Because he thought none like to hym, in power or in might.
Who did alone so farre excell the rest in his degree,
As doeth the Sunne in brightnes cleare, the darkest starre we see.
Wilt thou (then said this cruell kyng) proue this my present state
Possesse thou shalt this seate of myne, and so be fortunate.
Full gladly then this **Damacles**, this proferd honour tooke,
And shootyng at a princely life, his quiet rest forsooke.
In honours seate then was he plast, accordyng to his will,
Forthwith a banquet was preparde, that he might feast his fill.
Nothyng did want wherein twas thought, that he would take de-
To feede his eye, to fill his mouthe, or please the appetite. (lite,
Suche store of plate, I thinke in Grece, there scarsly was so much
His seruitours did Angels seme, their passyng shape was suche.
No daintie dishe but there it was, and thereof was suche store,
That throughout Grece so princly chere, was neuer seen before.
Thus while in pōpe and pleasures seate, this **Damacles** was plast,
And did beginne with gladsome harte, eche daintie dishe to taste.
At length by chaunce cast vp his eyes, and gan the house to vewe,
And sawe a sight that hym enforst, his princly state to rewe.
A sworde forsoth with dounward point, that had no stronger thred
Then one horse heere that peised it, direct vpon his head.
Wherewith he was so sore amasde, and shooke in euery parte,
As though the sworde that hong aboue, had stroke hym to the hart
Then all their pleasures toke their leaue, & sorowe came in place,
His heauie harte the teares declared, that trickled doune his face.
And then forthwith with sobbing voice, besought ye king of grace,
That he would licens hym with speede, to depart out of that place.
And saied that he full long enough, had tried now with feare,
What tis to be a happie man, and princly rule to beare.
This deede of thyne oh **Dionise**, deserues immortall fame, (shame.
This deede shall alwaies liue with praise, though thou didst liue we

Whereby

Whereby bothe kyngs be put in minde, their dangers to be great
And subiects be forbid to clime, high stepps of honours seate.
Finis.

[52.] *Fortitude. A yong man of Ægipt, and Valerian.*

ECche one deserues great praise to haue, but yet not like I think,
Bothe he that can sustain the yoke of paines, & doeth not shrink
And he whom *Cupids* couert crafte, can nothyng moue at all,
Into the harde and tangled knotts, of *Venus* snares to fall.
Besturre you then who so delights, in vertues race to ronne,
The fliying boye with bowe ibent, by strength to ouercome.
As one did once when he was yong, and in his tender daies,
Whose stout and noble deede of his, hath got immortall praise.
The wicked Romaines did pursue, the sely Christians than,
What tyme Valerian Emperour was, a wicked cruell man.
Who spared not with bloudy draughts, to quēche his owne desire
Dispatchyng all that stucke to Christ, with hotte consumyng fire.
At length a man, of tender yeres, was brought before his sight,
Suche one as Nature semed to make, a witnesse of her might.
For euery parte so well was set, that nothyng was depraued,
So that the cruell kyng hym self, would gladly haue hym saued.
So loth he was to see a woorke, so rare of Naturs power,
So finely built so sodainly, destroied within an hower.
Then meanes he sought to ouercome, or winne hym at the lest,
To slip from Christe, whom he before had earnestly profest.
A bedde preparde, so finely deckt, suche diuers pleasaunt smels,
That well it might appeare a place, where pleasure onely dwells.
By hym he laied a naked wenche, a *Venus* darlyng sure,
With sugred speache & louely toyes, that might his minde allure.
Such wanton lewres as these he thought, might easly him entise,
Which things he knewe w̄ lustie youth, had alwaies been in prise.
Suche waies I thinke the Gods them selues, could haue inuented
For flatteryng *Venus* ouercoms, the senses euery chone, (none,
And he hym self was euen at point, to *Venus* to consent,
Had not his stout and manly mynde, resisted his entent.
When he perceiued his fleshe to yelde, to pleasures wanton toyes,

And was by sleight almoste prouoked, to tast of *Venus* ioyes.
More cruell to hym self then those, that glad would hym vndoo,
With bloudie tooth his tēder tong, bote quite and cleane in twoo.
Thus was the paine so passyng greate, of this his bloudie bitte,
That all the fire and carnall lust, was quenched euery whitte.
Doe ill and all thy pleasures then, full sone will passe awaie,
But yet the shame of those thy deedes, will neuermore decaie.
Do well & though thy paines be great, yet sone eche one wil cease,
But yet, the praise of those thy deedes will euermore increase.

Finis.

[53.] *Iustice. Zaleuch and his Sonne.*

LEt rulers make most perfect lawes, to rule both great & smal
If thei them selues obeye them not, it boteth not at all.
As lawes be nought but rulers dome, cōteining egall might,
So rulers should be speakyng lawes, to rule by line of right.
Zaleuch the Prince of *Locrine* once, appointed by decree,
Eche lecherer should be punished, with losse of either eye.
His sonne by chaunce offended first, whiche when his father sawe,
Lorde God how earnest then was he, to execute the lawe.
Then ran the people all by flocks, to hym with wepyng eyes,
Not one emong the rout there was, but pardon, pardon cries.
By whose outcries and earnest sute, his sonne in hope did stande,
That he thereby should then obtaine, some pardon at his hande.
But all in vaine for he is founde, to be the man he was,
And maketh hast so muche the more, to haue the lawe to passe.
The people yet renued their sute, in hope of some relief,
Whose faces all besprent with teares, did testifie their grief.
And cried all for pities sake, yelde now to our request,
If all you will not cleane remit, yet ease the paine at lest.
Then somewhat was the father moued, with all the peoples voice
And euery man did giue a shoote, to shewe thei did reioyce.
Well then quoth he it shalbe thus, the lawe shalbe fulfilde,
And yet my sonne shall fauour haue, accordyng as you wilde.
One eye of his shalbe pulde out, thus hath his leudnesse got,
And likewise so shall one of myne, though I deserue it not.

This

This worde no soner was pronoūcde, but strait ẽ deede was doen,
Twoo eyes, no mo were left, betwene the father and the sonne.
Saie now who can, and on my faithe *Apollo* he shalbe,
Was he more gentle father now? or iuster Iudge trowe ye.
This man would not his lawes belike, the webbs t̃ spiders weue,
Wherein thei lurke when thei entende, the simple to deceiue.
Wherewith small flies full sone be caught, & tangled ere thei wist,
When greate ones flie and scape awaie, & breake them as thei list.

Finis.

[54.] *Temperaunce. Spurina and the Romaine Ladies.*

IF nature beare thee so great loue, t̃ she in thee haue beautie plast
Full harde it is as we doe proue, to kepe the body cleane & chast:
Twixt comelinesse and chastitie,
A deadly strife is thought to be.
For beautie whiche some men suppose to be, as twere a golden ill,
Prouoketh strief and many foes, that seke on her to worke her wil
Assaults to tounes if many make,
No toune so strong but maie be take.
And this *Spurina* witnesse can, who did for beautie beare the bell,
So cleane a wight so comly made, no dame in Rome but loued wel
Not one could cole her hote desire,
So burnyng was the flame of fire.
Like as when baite caste in ẽ floud, forthwith doeth cause the fishes (come,
That pleasantly before did plaie, now presently to death to runne.
For when thei see the baite to fall,
Straight waie thei swallowe hooke and all.
So when *Spurina* thei did see, to hym thei flocked out of hande,
She happest dame was thought to be, that in his fauour moste did
Not knowyng vnder sweete deceits, (stande.
How *Venus* hids her poysoned baits. (chain,
But whē he sawe them thus to rage, whom loue had linked in his
This means he sought for to aswage, these ladies of their greuous
His shape intendyng to disgrace, (pain.
With many wounds he skotch his face.

By whiche his deede it came to passe, ẗ ỹ he ẗ ỹ semed an angel bright
Euen now so cleane disfigured was, ẗ ỹ he became a lothsom wight.
And rather had be foule and chast,
Then faire, and filthie ioyes to tast.
What pen cā write, or tōg expresse, ẽ ỹ worthy praises of this deede,
My think that God can do no lesse, then graunt him heauen for his (meede.
Who for to saue hym self vpright,
Hym self hath first destroyed quite.

Finis ꝙ F. M.

[55.] *A bunche of herbes and flowers.*

IF ẗ ỹ eche flower, the godds haue framed, are shapt by sacred skill
Were as I would (no wrong to wishe) & myne to weare at will.
Or els eche tree, with lustie top, would lende me leaue to loue,
With spriggs displaied to spread my sute, a wailing hart to proue
Vpon my helme sone should you see, my hedde aduaunced hie,
Some slipp for solace there to sett, and weare the same would I.
Yet would I not for greate delight, the Daises strange desire,
The Lillie would not like my lust, nor Rose would I require.
The Marigould might growe for me, Rosemary well might reste,
The Fenell to that is more fit, for some vnfrendly gest.
Nor Cowslopps would I craue at all, sometymes thei seme to coy
Some ioly youth the Gelliflower, estemeth for his ioye.
The Lauender sometymes aloft, alures the lookers eyes,
The Paunsie shall not haue the praise, where I may geue the prise
And thus no flower my fansie feeds, as liketh so my luste,
As that I maie subiect my self, to toyes of tickle truste.
For flowers though thei be faire and fresh, of sent excelling swete
Yet growe thei on the ground belowe, we tred them with our fete
And shall I then goe stoupe to suche? or els go seke to those,
Shall flowers enforse me once to faune, for feare of frēds or foes.
Yet rather yelde I to the right, as reason hath assignde,
Myne authour saied there was no salue, in flowers for me to finde.
And yet perhapps some tree there is, to shroud me frō the shower,
That with her armes maie salue ẽ ỹ soule, that yeldeth to her power.

Eche

Where I maie finde some pleasant shade, to salue me frō the sonne
Eche thyng we see that reason hath, vnto the trees doe runne.
Bothe men & beasts suche foules as fly, the treasures are the trees
And for my part when braunches fall, I wishe no other fees.
But whē that stormes beset me round, suche succor God me sende,
That I maie finde a frendly tree, that will me well defende.
No tree there is whiche yeilds no good, to some that doe it seke
And as thei are of diuers kynds, their vses are vnlike.
The Eue tree serues the Bowiers turne, the Ash the Coupers art,
The puisant Oke doeth make the post, the Pine some other part.
The Elme doeth helpe to hide the birds, in wearie winters night,
The Briers I gesse are nothyng worth, thei serue but for despight
The willowe wisht I farre frō hens, good will deserue no wrong,
The Sallowe well maie serue their states, that syng so sad a song.
The Boxe and Beche eche for hymself, aboue the reste doeth boste,
The Eglantine for pleasure oft, is pricked vpon the poste.
The Hauthorne so is had in prise, the Baies doe beare the bell,
And that these Baies did bryng no blisse, I like it not so well.
As erst I doe that semely tree, by whiche those Baies I founde,
And where withall vnwittyngly, I tooke so greate a wounde.
As if the tree by whiche I lent, doeth lende me no relief,
There is no helpe but doune I fall, so greate is growne my grief.
And therefore at the last I craue, this fauour for to finde,
When euery tree that here is told, beginns to growe vnkinde.
The B. for beautie whom I boste, and shall aboue the rest,
That B. maie take me to her trust, for B. doeth please me best.
It liks me well to walke the waie, where B. doeth kepe her bower
And when it raines to B. I ronne to saue me from the shower.
This braūche of B. whiche here I meane, to kepe I chiefly craue,
At becke vnto this B. I bowe, to sarue that beautie braue.
What shall I saie the tyme doeth passe, the tale to tedious is,
Though loth to leaue, yet leaue I must, and saie no more but this,
I wishe this B. I might embrace, when as the same I see,
A league for life then I require, betwene this B. and me.
And though vnworthy, yet good will, doeth worke the waie herein
And B. hath brought the same about, whiche beautie did begin.

Finis.

[56.] *Now mortall man beholde and see, This worlde is but a vanitie.*

VVHo shall profoundly way or scan, the assured state of man,
Shall well perceiue by reason than:
That where is no stabilitie, remaineth nought but vanitie.

For what estate is there think ye, throughly content w̃t his degre,
Whereby we maie right clerely see:
That in this vale of miserie, remaineth nought but vanitie.

The great men wishe ỹe meane estate, meane men again their state
Old men thinke children fortunate: (doe hate,
A boye a man would fainest be, thus wandreth man in vanitie.

The coũtrey man doth daily swell, w̃t great desire in court to dwel
The Courtier thinks hym nothyng well:
Till he from court, in countrey be, he wandreth so in vanitie.

The sea doeth tosse ỹe marchãts brains, to wish a farme & leue those
The Farmer gapeth at marchantes gaines: (pains,
Thus no man can contented be, he wandreth so in vanitie.

If thou haue lands or goods great store, cõsider thou thy charge ỹe
Since thou must make account therefore: (more,
Thei are not thine but lent to thee, and yet thei are but vanitie.

If thou be strõg or faire of face, sicknes or age doth both disgrace,
Then be not proude in any case:
For how can there more folly be, then for to bost of vanitie.

Now finally be not infect, with worldly cares, but haue respect,
How God rewardeth his true electe:
With glorious felicitie: free from all worldly vanitie.

Finis. M.Thorn.

Where

[57.] *In commendation of Musick.*

WHere gripyng grief the hart would wound & dolfull domps thē oppresse
There Musick with her siluer soūd, is wont with spede to giue redresse,
Of troubled minde for euery sore, swete Musick hath a salue therfore.

In ioye it maks our mirth abound, in grief it chers our heauy sprights,
The carefull head release hath found, by Musicks pleasant swete delights
Our sences, what should I saie more, are subiect vnto Musicks lore.

The Godds by Musick hath their praie, the foule therein doeth ioye,
For as the Romaine Poets saie, in seas whom Pirats would destroye,
A Dolphin saued from death moste sharpe, Arion plaiyng on his harpe.

A heauenly gift, that turnes the minde, like as the sterne doth rule the ship,
Musick whom the Gods assignde to comfort man, whom cares would nip,
Sith thou both mā & beast doest moue, what wiseman then wil thee reproue.

Finis M Edwards.

[58. *Beware of Sirens.*]

WHen sage *Vlisses* sailed by,
The perillous seas, where *Cirens* syng:
Hym self vnto the mast did tye,
Lest their alluryng tunes might bryng,
His mynde on maze and make hym staie,
And he with his become their praie.

Vlisses O thou valiant wight,
It semed dame *Circes* loued thee well:
What tyme she told, to thee aright.
The seas wherein the *Sirens* dwell.
By meane where, against thy saile,
Their subtill songes, could not preuaile.

Were thou amongs vs here againe,
And heard our *Sirens* melodie:
Not *Circes* skill nor yet thy braine,
Could kepe thee from their trecherie.
Suche *Sirens* haue we now adaies,
That tempt vs by a thousande waies.

Thei

Thei syng thei daunce, thei sport, thei plaie
Thei humbly fall vpon their knees:
Thei sigh, thei sobb, thei prate, thei praie,
With suche dissemblyng shifts as these,
Thei calculate, thei chaunt, thei charme,
To conquere vs that meane no harme.

Good ladies all letts ioyne in one,
And banishe cleane this *Siren* kinde:
What nede we yelde, to heare their mone,
Since their deceipt we daiely finde.
Let not your harts to them apply,
Defie them all for so will I.

And if where *Circes* now doeth dwell,
You wisht you witt aduise, to learne:
Loe I am she that best can tell,
Their *Sirens* songes and them discerne.
For why experience yeldeth skill,
To me that scapt that *Sirens* ill.

Finis. M.Bew.

[59.] *Findyng no ioye, he desireth death.*

THe Cony in his caue, the Feret doeth anoye,
And fleyng thence his life to saue, him self he doeth destroye.
His Berrie rounde about besett, with hunters snares,
So that when he to scape starts out, is caught therein vnwares,
Like choise poore man haue I to bide and rest in loue,
Or els from thence to start, and still as bad a death to proue.

I see, in loue to rest, vnkindnesse doeth pursue,
To rent the harte out of his breast, whiche is a louer true.
And if from loue I starte, as one that loue forsaks,
Then pensiue thoughts my harte doeth perse, & so my life it taks.
Thus then to fly or bide, harde is the choise to chuse,
Since death hath cāpde, & trenched eche side, & saith life now refuse
Content

Content I am therefore, my life therein to spende,
And death I take a salue for sore, my wearie daies to ende.
And thus I you request, that faithfull loue professe,
When carcas cased is in chest, and bodie laied on hears.
Your brinishe teares to saue, suche as my corse shall moue,
And therewith write vpon my graue, behold the force of loue.

W.H.

[60.] *Hope well and haue well.*

IN hope the Shipman hoiseth saile, in hope of passage good,
In hope of health the sickly man, doeth suffer losse of bloud.
In hope the prisoner linckt in chaines, hopes libertie to finde,
Thus hope breds helth & helth breds ease, to euery troubled mynd.

In hope desire getts victorie, in hope greate comfort spryngs,
In hope the louer liues in ioyes, he feares no dreadfull stynge:
In hope we liue and maie abide, suche stormes as are assignde,
Thus hope breds helth, & helth breds ease, to euery troubled mind.

In hope we easely suffer harme, in hope of future tyme,
In hope of fruite, the pain semes swete, that to the tree doeth clime
In hope of loue suche glory growes, as now by profe I finde:
That hope breds helth, & helth breds ease to euery troubled minde.

W.H.

[61.] *He repenteth his folly.*

VVHē first mine eyes did vew, & marke thy beutie faire for to behold,
And whē myne eares, gan first to harke, the pleasant words ẏ thou
I would as thē I had been free, frō eares to heare, & eyes to se (me told

And when my hands did handle oft, that might thee kepe in memorie,
And when my feete had gone so softe, to finde and haue thy companie,
I would eche hande a foote had been, and eke eche foote, a hand so seen.

And when in minde I did consent, to followe thus my fansies will,
And when my harte did first relent, to tast suche baite my self to spill,
I would my harte had been as thine, or els thy harte as soft as myne.

Thē should not I suche cause haue foūd, to wish this mōstrus sight to se,
Ne thou alas that madest the wounde, should not deny me remedy,
Then should one will in bothe remain, to graūt one hart whiche now is twaine.

W.H.

[62.] *He requesteth some frendly comfort affirmyng his constancie.*

THe mountaines hie whose loftie topps, doeth mete the hautie sky
The craggie rocke that to the sea, free passage doeth deny,
The aged Oke that doeth resist, the force of blustryng blast,
The pleasaunt herbe that euery where, a fragrant smell doeth cast.
The Lyons forse whose courage stout, declares a princlike might,
The Eagle that for worthinesse, is borne of kyngs in fight:
The Serpent eke whose poisoned waies, doeth belche out venim vile,
The lothsome Tode that shunneth light, and liueth in exile.
These these I saie and thousands more, by trackt of tyme decaie,
And like to tyme doe quite consume, and vade from forme to claie:
But my true harte and seruice vowed, shall last tyme out of minde,
And still remaine as thine by dome, as *Cupid* hath assignde.
My faithe loe here I vowe to thee, my trothe thou knowest right well,
My goods my frends, my life is thine, what nede I more to tell?
I am not myne but thine I vowe, thy hests I will obeye,
And serue thee as a seruaunt ought, in pleasyng if I maie:
And sith I haue no fliyng wings, to see thee as I wishe,
Ne finnes to cut the siluer streames, as doeth the glidyng fishe,
Wherefore leaue now forgetfulnesse, and sende againe to me,
And straine thy azured vaines to write, that I maie greetyng see:
And thus farewell more deare to me, then chiefest frende I haue,
Whose loue in harte I minde to shrine, till death his fee doe craue.

M.Edwards.

Shall

[63.] *He complaineth his mishapp.*

SHall rigor raigne where youth hath ron, shall fansie now forsake,
Shall fortune lose that fauour wonne, shall not your anger slake:
Shall hatefull harte be had in you, that frendly did pretende,
Shall slipper thoughts and faithe vntrue, that harte of yours defende

Shall nature shewe your beautie faire, that gentle semes to be,
Shall frowardnesse, your fancies ayer, be of more force then she:
Shall now disdaine the dragg of death, direct and leade the waie,
Shall all the imps vpon the yearth, reioyce at my decaie.

Shall this the seruice of my youth, haue suche reward at last,
Shall I receiue rigor for ruth, and be from fauour cast:
Shall I therefore berent my harte, with wights that wishe to dye,
Or shall I bathe my self with teares, to feede your fickle eye.

No no I shall in paine lye still, with Turtle doue moste true,
And vowe my self to witt and will, their counsels, to ensue:
Good Ladies all that louers be, your helpe hereto purtende,
Giue place to witt, let reason seme, your enemie to defende.

Lest that you thinke as I haue thought, your self to striue in vaine,
And so to be in thraldome brought, with me to suffer paine.

Finis. M.H.

[64.] *No foe to a flatterer.*

IWould it were not as I thinke, I would it were not so,
I am not blinde although I winke, I feele what winds doe blowe:
I knowe where craft, with smilyng cheare, creps into bloudy brest,
I heare how fained speache, speaks faire, where hatred is possest.
I se the Serpent lye and lurck, vnder the grene alowe,
I see hym watche a tyme, to worke, his poyson to bestowe.

In frendly looks suche fraude is founde, as faithe for feare is fleade,
And frendship hath receiued suche wounde, as he is almoste deade,
And hatefull harte with malice greate, so boyles in cankerd minde:

That flatteries flearyng in my face, had almoste made me blinde,
But now I see all is not golde, that glittereth in the eye,
Nor yet suche frends as thei professe, as now by profe I finde.

Though secret spight by craft, hath made a coate of Panters skin,
And thinks to finde me in the shade, by sleight to wrapp me in,
Yet God be praised my eye is cleare, and can beholde the Sonne:
When falshood dares not once appeare, to ende that he begonne,
Thus tyme shall trie the thyng amisse, whiche God sone shortly sende,
And turne the harte that fained is, to be a faithfull frende.

Finis.

[65. *His comparison of Loue.*]

THe Spider with greate skill, doeth trauell daie by daie,
His limmes no tyme, lye still to set his house in staie:
And when he hath it wrought, thinkyng therein to raigne,
A blast of winde vnthought, doeth driue it doune againe.

The profe whereof is true, to make his worke indure,
He paines hym self a newe, in hope to dwell more sure:
Or in some secret place, a corner of the wall,
He trauaileth a space, to builde and rest with all.

His pleasure swete to staie, when he to rest is bent,
An vgly shamble Flie, approcheth to his tent:
And there entends by forse, his labours greate to win,
Or els to yelde his corse, by fatall death therein.

Thus is the Spiders nest, from tyme to tyme throwne downe,
And he to labour prest, with endles pains vnknowne:
So suche as louers be, like trauell doe attaine,
Those endles works ye see, are alwaies full of paine.

W.Hunis.

[66. *Euill to hym that euill thinketh.*]

THe subtill slily sleights, that worldly men doe worke,
The frēdly showes vnder whose shade, most craft doth oftē lurke
Enforceth

Enforceth me alas, with yernfull voice to saie,
Wo worthe the wily heads that seeks, the simple mans decaie.

The birde that dreds no guile, is sonest caught in snare,
Eche gentle harte deuoide of craft, is sonest brought to care:
Good nature sonest trapt, whiche giues me cause to saie.
Wo worthe the wily heads that seeks, the simple mans decaie.

I see the serpent vile, that lurks vnder the grene,
How subtelly he shrouds hym self, that he maie not be sene:
And yet his fosters bane, his leryng looks bewraie,
Wo worthe the wily heads that seeks, the simple mans decaie.

Wo worthe the fainyng looks, one fauour that doe waite,
Wo worthe the fained frendly harte, that harbours depe deceit:
Wo worthe the Vipers broode, oh thrise wo worthe I saie,
All worldly wily heads that seeks, the simple mans decaie.

Finis. M.Edwards.

[67. *He assureth his constancie.*]

*VV*Ith painted speache I list not proue, my cunnyng for to trie,
Nor yet will vse to fill my penne, with gilefull flatterie:
With pen in hand, and harte in breast, shall faithfull promise make
To loue you best, and serue you moste, for your great vertues sake.

And since dame Nature hath you deckt, with gifts aboue the rest,
Let not disdaine a harbour finde, within your noble brest:
For loue hath ledd his lawe alike, to men of eche degree,
So that the begger with the prince, shall loue as well as he.

I am no prince I must confesse, nor yet of princes line,
Nor yet a brutishe begger borne, that feeds among the Swine:
The fruite shall trie the tree at last, the blossomes good or no,
Then doe not iudge of me the worse, till you haue tried me so.

As I deserue, so then reward, I make you iudge of all,
If I be false in worde or deede, let lightnyng thunder fall:

And furies fell with franticke fitts, bereue and stopp my breathe,
For an example to the rest, if I shall breake my faithe.

Finis. M.B.

[68.] *Trie and then trust.*

THe sainct I serue, and haue besought full oft,
Vpon my knees, to stande my Goddes good:
With hope did holde, my head sometyme aloft,
And fed my faunyng frende, with daintie foode.
But now I see, that words are nought but winde,
The sweter meate, the sowrer sauce I finde.

Thus while I helde the Ele by the taile,
I had some hope, yet neuer wanted feare:
Of double dread, that man can neuer faile,
That will presume to take the Wolfe, by the eare.
I snatche for sothe, muche like to Esops dogg,
I sought for fishe, and alwaies caught a frogg.

Thus did I long bite, on the fomyng bitt,
Whiche found me plaie enough, vnto my paine:
Thus while I loued, I neuer wanted fitt,
But liued by losse, and sought no other gaine.
But why should I mislike with Fortunes fetters,
Since that the like haue hapt vnto my betters.

Richard Hill.

[69.] *Complainyng to his frende, he replieth wittely.*

A. THe fire shall freese, the frost shall frie the frozen mountains hie,
B. what strāge thinges shal dame nature force, to turne her course
A. My Ladie hath me left, and taken a newe man, (awrie.
B. This is not straunge, it happes oft tymes, the truthe to scan.
A. The more is my paine, *B.* her loue then refraine,
A. Who thought she would flitt, *B.* eche one that hath witt,
A. Is not this straunge, *B.* light loue will chaunge.

By

A. By skilfull meanes I her reclaime, to stope vnto my luer,
*B.*Suche hagard haukes will sore awaie, of them who can be suer.
*A.*With siluer bells and hoode, my ioye was her to decke,
*B.*She was full gorgd, she would the soner giue the checke.
*A.*The more is my paine, *B.*her loue then refraine,
*A.*Who thought she would flitt, *B.*eche one that hath witt,
*A.*Is not this straunge, *B.*light loue will chaunge.

*A.*Her chirping lippes would chirp to me, swete wordes of her desire
*B.*Suche chirping birdes who euer sawe, to preach still on one brire
*A.*She saied she loued me beste, and would doe till she die,
*B.*She saied in wordes, she thought it not, as tyme doeth trie.
*A.*The more is my paine, *B.*her loue then refraine,
*A.*Who thought she would flitt, *B.*eche one that hath witt.
*A.*Is not this straunge, *B.*light loue will chaunge.

A. Can no man winne a woman so, to make her loue endure,
*B.*To make the Foxe his wiles to leaue, what man will put in vre.
*A.*Why then there is no choice, but all women will chaunge,
*B.*As men doe vse so, some women doe loue to raunge,
*A.*The more is my paine, *B.*her loue then refraine,
*A.*Who thought she would flitt, *B.*eche one that hath witt:
*A.*Is not this straunge, *B.*light loue will chaunge.

A. Sithe slipper gaine falles to my lot, farwell that glidyng praie
*B.*Sithe that the dice doeth runne a wrie, betimes leaue of thy plaie.
*A.*I will no more lament, the thyng I maie not haue,
*B.*Then by exchaunge the losse to come, all shalt thou saue.
*A.*Loue will I refraine, *B.*thereby thou shalt gaine:
*A.*With losse I will leaue, *B.*she will thee deceiue,
*A.*That is not straunge, *B.*then let her raunge.

M.Edwards.

[70.] *No paines comparable to his attempt.*

WHat watche, what wo, what want, what wracke?
Is due to those that toyle the Seas:

Life

Life ledd with losse, of paines no lacke,
In stormes to winne, muche restlesse ease.
A bedlesse borde, in seas vnrest,
Maie happ to hym, that chaunseth best.

How sundrie sounds with lead and line,
Vnto the depe, the shipman throwes:
No foote to spare, he cries oft tymes,
No nere, when how the master blowes.
If Neptune frown, all be vndoen,
Strait waie the shipp, the wrack hath won

These daungers greate doe oft befall,
On those that shere vpon the sande:
Iudge of their liues, the best who shall,
How vile it is, fewe vnderstande.
Alacke? who then maie iudge, their game:
Not thei, whiche haue not felt the same.

But thei that fall in stormes and winde,
And daies and yeres haue spent therein:
Suche well may iudge, since profe thei find
In rage, no rest, till calme begin.
No more then those, that loue doe faine,
Giue iudgement of true louers paine.

Finis.W.H.

[71.] *No pleasure without some paine.*

HOw can the tree but wast, and wither awaie,
That hath not sometyme comfort of the Sonne:
How can that flower but fade, and sone decaie,
That alwaies is with darke clouds ouer ronne.
Is this a life, naie death you maie it call,
That feeles eche paine, and knoweth no ioye at all.

What foodles beast can liue long in good plight,
Or is it life, where sences there be none:

But

Or what auaileth eyes without their light?
Or els a tonge, to hym that is alone.
Is this a life? naie death you maie it call,
That feeles eche paine, and knowes no ioye at all.

Whereto serue eares, if that there be no sounde,
Or suche a head, where no deuise doeth growe:
But all of plaints, since sorrowe is the grounde,
Whereby the harte doeth pine in deadly woe.
Is this a life, naie death you maie it call,
That feeles eche paine, and knows no ioye at all.

Finis. L. Vaux.

[72.] ¶*The fruites of fained frendes.*

IN choise of frends what happ had I, to chuse one of *Cirenes* kinde,(blinde:
Whose harpe, whose pipe, whose melodie, could feede my eares & make me
Whose pleasant noise made me forget,that in sure trust was great deceit.

In trust I see is treason founde, and man to man deceitfull is,
And whereas Treasure doeth abounde, of flatterers there doe not misse:
Whose painted speache, and outward showe, doe seme as frends and be not so.

Would I haue thought in thee to be, the nature of the Crokadill,
Whiche if a man a slepe maie see, with bloudy thirst desires to kill:
And then with teares a while gan wepe, the death of hym thus slaine a slepe.

O flatterer false, thou traitor borne, what mischief more might thou deuise,
Then thy deare frende, to haue in scorne,and hym to wounde in sondrie wise:
Whiche still a frende pretends to be, and art not so by profe I se.
Fie fie,vpon suche trechery.

Finis. W.H.

[73.] *Beyng importunate, at the length, he obtaineth.*

A. SHall I no waie winne you, to graunt my desire?
B. What woman, will graunt you, the thyng you require:
A. You onely to loue me, is all that [I] craue,

*B.*You onely to leaue me, is all I would haue.
*A.*My deare alas now saie not so,
*B.*To loue you best, I must saie no:
*A.*Yet will I not flitt, *B.*then plaie on the bitt.
*A.*I will, *B.*doe still, *A.*yet kill not, *B.* I will not.
*A.*Make me your man, *B.*beshrewe me than.

A. The swifter I followe, then you fly awaie,
*B.*Swift hauks in their fliyng, oft times misse their pray
*A.*Yet some killeth dedly, that flie to the marke:
*B.*You shall touche no feather, thereof take no carke.
*A.*Yet hope shall further my desire,
*B.*You blowe the coales, and raise no fire.
*A.*Yet will I not flitt, *B.*then plaie on the bitt,
*A.*I will, *B.* doe still, *A.*yet kill not, *B.*I will not,
*A.*Make me your man, *B.*beshrewe me than.

A. To loue is no daunger where true loue is ment,
*B.*I will loue no ranger, lest that I repent:
*A.*My loue is no ranger, I make God auow,
*B.*To trust your smoth saiyngs, I sure knowe not how.
*A.*Moste truthe I meane, as tyme shall well trie,
*B.*No truthe in men, I oft espie.
A Yet will I not flitt, *B.*then plaie on the bitt.
*A.*I will, *B.*doe still, *A.*yet kill not, *B.*I will not:
*A.*Make me your man, *B* Be shrewe me than.

*A.*Some women maie saie naie, and meane loue moste true,
*B.*Some women can make fools, of as wise men as you,
*A.*In tyme I shall catche you, I knowe when and where:
*B.*I will sone dispatche you, you shall not come there.
*A.*Some speds at length, that oft haue mist,
*B.*I am well armed, come when you list.
*A.*Yet will I not flitt, *B.*then plaie on the bitt.
*A.*I will, *B.*doe still, *A.*yet kill not, *B.*I will not,
*A.*Make me your man, *B.*beshrewe me than.

Yet

A. Yet worke your kinde kindly, graunt me loue for loue,
B. I will vse you frendly, as I shall you proue:
A. Moste close you shall finde me, I this doe protest,
B. Then sure you shall binde me, to graunt your request.
A. O happie threde now haue I sponne,
B. You syng before the conquest wonne.
A. Why then, will you swarue, *B.*euen as you deserue:
A. Loue still, *B.*I will, *A.*yet kill not, *B.*I will not.
A. Make me your man, *B.*come to me than.

Finis.M.B.

[74.] ¶*Requiryng the fauour of his loue: She aunswereth thus.*

M. WHat death maie be, compared to loue?
H. What grief therein, now doest thou proue?
M. My paines alas who can expresse,
H. I see no cause of heauinesse.
*M.*My Ladies looks, my wo hath wrought:
H. Then blame thyne eyes that first haue sought,
*M.*I burne alas, and blowe the fire,
H. A foole consumes by his desire,
*M.*What shall I do than? *H.*come out and thou can.
H. Alas I die, *M.*what remedie?

M. My sugred sweete, is mixed with gall,
H. Thy Ladie can not doe with all:
M The more I seeke, the lesse I finde,
H. Then striue not with the streame and winde.
*M.*Her must I loue, although I smarte,
H. With thy owne sworde, thou slaiest thy harte:
*M.*Suche pleasaunt baites, who can refraine,
H. Suche beats will sure brede the greate paine.
*M.*What shal I do than? *H.*Come out and thou can.
H. Alas I die, *M.*what remedie.

M. Her golden beames, myne eyes doe daze,
H. Vpon the Sonne thou maiest not gaze:
M. She might reward my cruell smarte,
H. She thinks thou bearest a fained harte.
M. She laughs to heare my wofull cries,
H. Forsake her then, in tyme be wise:
M. No no alas, that maie not bee,
H. No wise man then will pitie thee,
M. What shall I do than? *H.*come out and thou can.
*M.*Alas I die, *H.*what remedie.

M. A liuyng death, loe thus I proue,
H. Suche are the fruts of froward loue:
M. O that I might her loue once againe,
H. Thy gaine would not, halfe quite the paine.
M. Her will I loue though she be coye,
H. A foole hym self will still anoye:
M. Who will not die for suche a one,
H. Be wise at length, let her alone:
M. I can not doe so, *H.*then be thy owne foe,
*M.*Alas I die, *H.*what remedie.

Finis.E.S.

[75.] ¶*A louers ioye.*

I Haue no ioye, but dreame of ioye, and ioye to thinke on ioye,
A ioye I withstoode, for to enioye, to finishe myne anoye:
I hate not without cause alas, yet loue I knowe not why,
I thought to hate, I can not hate, although that I should die.
A foe moste swete, a frende moste sower, I ioye for to embrace,
I hate the wrong, and not the wight, that workt my wofull case:
What thyng it is I knowe not I, but yet a thyng there is,
That in my fancie still perswads, there is no other blisse.
The ioyes of life, the pangs of death, it make me feele eche daie,
But life nor death, this humour can deuise to weare awaie.
Faine would I dye, but yet in death no hope I see remaines,
And

And shall I liue? since life I see, a sourse of sorie paines:
What is it then that I doe seke, what ioye would I aspire,
A thyng that is deuine belike, to high for mans desire.

Finis.F.K.

[76.] ¶*The iudgement of desire.*

THe liuely Larke did stretche her wyng,
The messenger of mornyng bright:
And with her cherefull voyce did syng,
The daies approche, dischargyng night.
When that Aurora blushyng redd,
Discride the gilt of Thetis bedd:
Laradon tan tan, Tedriton teight.

I went abroad to take the aire,
And in the meadds I mett a knight,
Clad in carnation colour faire,
I did salute the youthfull wight.
Of hym I did his name enquire,
He sight and saied, I am desire,
Laradon tan tan, Tedriton teight.

Desire I did desire to staie,
A while with hym I craued talke:
The courteous wight saied me no naie,
But hande in hande with me did walke.
Then in desire I askte againe,
What thing did please, and what did pain
Laradon, tan, tan.

He smild and thus he answered me,
Desire can haue no greater paine:
Then for to see an other man,
The thyng desired to obtaine.
No ioye no greater to then this,

Then to inioye what others misse,
Laridon, tan, tan.

Finis. E.O.

[77.] ¶*The complaint of a louer, wearyng Blacke and Tawnie.*

A Croune of Bayes shall that man weare,
That triumphs ouer me:
For blacke and Tawnie will I weare,
Whiche mournyng colours be.

The more I folowed on, the more she fled awaie,
As *Daphne* did full long agone, *Apollos* wishfull praie:
The more my plaints resounde, the lesse she pities me,
The more I saught the lesse I founde, that myne she ment to be.

Melpomeney, alas with dolefull tunes helpe than,
And syng *bis* wo worthe on me, forsaken man:
Then *Daphnes* baies shal that man weare, that triumphs ouer me,
For Blacke & Taunie will I weare, which mournyng colours be.

Droune me you tricklyng teares, you wailefull wights of woe,
Come help these hāds to rēt my heares, my rufull happs to showe:
On whom the scorchyng flames of loue, doeth feede you se,
Ah a lalalantida my deare dame, hath thus tormented me.

Wherefore you Muses nine, with dolefull tunes helpe than,
And syng *Bis* wo worthe on me forsaken man:
Then *Daphnes* Baies shall that man weare, that triumps ouer me
For Blacke & Taunie will I weare, which mourning colours be.

An Ancres life to leade, with nailes to scratche my graue,
Where earthly Wormes on me shall fede, is all the ioyes I craue:
And hid my self from shame, sith that myne eyes doe see,
Ah a alantida my deare dame, hath thus tormented me.

And

And all that present be, with dolefull tunes helpe than:
And syng *Bis* woe worthe on me, forsaken man.

Finis. E.O.

[78.] ¶*He complaineth thus.*

LO heare the man that must of loue complaine,
Lo heare that seas that feeles no kinde of blisse:
Lo here I seke for ioye, and finde but paine,
Lo what despite can greater be then this?
To freze to death, and stande yet by the fire,
And she that shonneth me moste, I doe desire.

L. But shall I speake alas, or shall I die,
*A.*By death no helpe, in speache some helpe doeth lie:
*L.*Then from that breast, remoue a Marble minde,
*A.*As I see cause, so are ye like to finde.
*L.*I yelde my self, what would you more of me,
*A.*You yelde, but for to winne and conquer me,
*L.*Saie and kill not madame,
*A.*Forsake your sute for shame,
No no no no, not so.

O happie man, now vaunt thy self,
That hath this conquest gainde:
And now doeth liue in greate delight,
That was so lately painde.
Triumph, triumph, triumph, who louers be
Thrise happie is that woyng,
That is not long a doyng,
Triumph, triumph, triumph, that hath like victorie.

Finis.

Findyng

[79.] ¶*Findyng no relief, he complaineth thus.*

IN quest of my relief I finde distresse,
In recompence of loue, moste depe disdaine:
My langour is suche, words maie not expresse,
A shower of teares, my watrishe eye doeth raine.
I dreame of this, and doe deuine of wo,
I wander in the thoughts, of my swete fo.

I would no peace, the cause of warre I flie,
I hope, I feare, I burne, I chill in froste:
I lye alowe, yet mounts my minde on hie,
Thus doubtfull stormes, my troubled thoughts haue toste,
And for my paine, this pleasure doe I proue.
I hate my self, and pine in others loue.

The worlde I graspe, yet holde I nought at all,
At libertie, I seme in prison pent:
I taste the sweete, more sower then bitter gall,
My shipp semes sounde, and yet her ribbs be rent.
And out alas, on Fortune false I crie,
Looke what I craue, that still she doeth denie.

Bothe life and death, be equall vnto me,
I doe desire to die, yet craue I life,
My witts with sondrie thoughts doe disagre,
My self am with my self at mortall strife.
As warmth of sonne doeth melte the siluer Snowe,
The heate of loue, beholde consumes me so.

Finis.R.H.

[80.] ¶*Beyng in loue, he complaineth.*

WHat dome is, this I faine would knowe,
That demeth all by contraries:
What God, or whether height or lowe,
Now would I learne some warrantise.
Some saie the blinded God aboue,

Is

Is he that woorketh all by loue:
But he that stirreth strife, the truthe to tell,
I alwaies feele, but knowe not well.

Some saie *Alecto* with her mates,
Are thei whiche breedeth all anoye:
Who sitts like Haggs in hellishe gates,
And seeks still whom thei maie destroye.
Some saie againe, tis destinie,
But how it comes, or what it is,
I let it passe, before I misse.

Despite doeth alwaies worke my wo,
And happ as yet holds hardly still:
For feare I set my frendshipp so,
And thinke againe to reape good will.
I doe but striue against the winde,
For more I seeke, the lesse I finde:
And where I seeke moste for to please,
There finde I alwaies my desease.

And thus I loue, and doe reape still,
Nothyng but hate for my good will.

Finis. L.V.

[81.] *A louer disdained, complaineth.*

IF euer man had loue to dearly bought,
Lo I am he that plaies within her maze:
And finds no waie, to get the same I sought,
But as the Dere are driuen vnto the gaze.
And to augment the grief of my desire,
My self to burne, I blowe the fire:
But shall I come ny you,
Of forse I must flie you.

What death alas, maie be compared to this,
I plaie within the maze of my swete foe:
And when I would of her but craue a kis,
Disdaine enforceth her awaie to goe.
My self I check: yet doe I twiste the twine,
The pleasure hers, the paine is myne,
But shall I come ny you,
Of forse I must flie you.

You courtly wights, that wants your pleasant choise,
Lende me a floud of teares, to waile my chaunce:
Happie are thei in loue, that can reioyse,
To their greate paines, where fortune doeth aduaunce
But sith my sute alas, can not preuaile,
Full fraight with care, in grief still will I waile:
Sith you will needs flie me,
I maie not come ny you.

Finis.L.V.

[82.] ¶*Beyng in loue, he complaineth.*

IF care or skill, could conquere vaine desire,
Or reasons raines, my strong affection staie:
Then should my sights, to quiet breast retire,
And shunne suche signes, as secret thoughts bewraie.
Vncomely loue, whiche now lurks in my breast,
Should cease my grief, through wisdōs power opprest

But who can leaue, to looke on *Venus* face?
Or yeldeth not, to *Iunos* high estate:
What witt so wise, as giues not *Pallas* place,
These vertues rare, eche Godds did yelde amate.
Saue her alone, who yet on yearth doeth reigne,
Whose beauties stryng, no Gods can well destraine.

What worldly wight, can hope for heauenly hire,
When onely sights, must make his secret mone:

A silent

A silent sute, doeth selde to Grace aspire,
My haples happe, doeth role to restles stone,
Yet *Phebe* faire, disdainde the heauens aboue,
To ioye on yearth, her poore *Endimions* loue.

Rare is reward, where none can iustly craue,
For chaunce is choise, where reason maks no claime:
Yet lucke sometymes, dispairyng souls doeth saue,
A happie starre made *Giges* ioye attaine.
A slauishe Smith, of rúde and rascall race,
Founde means in tyme, to gaine a Goddes grace.

Then loftie Loue, thy sacred sailes aduaunce,
My sithyng seas, shall flowe with streames of teares:
Amidds disdaine, driue forthe my dolefull chaunce,
A valiaunt minde, no deadly daunger feares.
Who loues alofte, and setts his harte on hie,
Deserues no paine, though he doe pine and die.

Finis.M.B.

[83.] ¶*A louer reiected, complaineth.*

THe tricklyng teares, that fales along my cheeks,
The secret sighs, that showes my inward grief:
The present paines perforce, that loue aye seeks,
Bidds me renew, my cares without relief,
In wofull song in dole displaie,
My pensiue harte for to bewraie.

Bewraie thy grief, thou wofull harte with speede,
Resigne thy voyce, to her that causde thy woe:
With irksome cries, bewaile thy late doen deede,
For she thou louest, is sure thy mortall foe,
And helpe for thee, there is none sure,
But still in paine, thou must endure.

The striken Deare hath helpe, to heale his wounde,
The haggerd hauke, with toile is made full tame:
The strongest tower, the Canon laies on grounde,
The wisest witt, that euer had the fame.
Was thrall to Loue, by *Cupids* sleights,
Then waie my case with equall waights.

She is my ioye, she is my care and wo,
She is my paine, she is my ease therefore:
She is my death, she is my life also,
She is my salue, she is my wounded sore.
In fine, she hath the hande and knife,
That maie bothe saue, and ende my life.

And shal I liue on yearth to be her thral?
And shall I sue, and serue her all in vaine?
And kisse the stepps, that she letts fall,
And shall I praie the gods, to kepe the pain
From her, that is so cruell still?
No, no, on her woorke all your will.

And let her feele the power of all your might,
And let her haue her moste desire with speede:
And let her pine awaie, bothe daie and night,
And let her mone, and none lament her neede.
And let all those, that shall her se,
Dispise her state, and pitie me.

Finis. E.O.

[84.] ¶*Not attainyng to his desire, he complaineth.*

I Am not as [I] seme to bee,
Nor when I smile, I am not glad:
A thrall although you count me free,
I moste in mirthe, moste pensiue sadd.
I smile to shade my bitter spight,
As Haniball that sawe in sight:

His

His countrey soile, with Carthage toune:
By Romaine force, defaced doune.

And *Cæsar* that presented was,
With noble *Pompeyes* princely hedd,
As twere some iudge, to rule the case,
A floud of teares, he semde to shedd.
Although in deede, it sprong of ioye,
Yet others thought it was annoye:
Thus contraries be vsed I finde,
Of wise to cloke the couert minde.

I *Haniball* that smiles for grief,
And let you *Cæsars* teares suffice:
The one that laughs at his mischief,
The other all for ioye that cries.
I smile to see me scorned so,
You wepe for ioye, to see me wo:
And I a harte by loue slaine dead,
Presents in place of *Pompeyes* head.

O cruell happ, and harde estate,
That forceth me to loue my foe:
Accursed be so foule a fate,
My choise for to profixe it so.
So long to fight with secret sore,
And finde no secret salue therefore:
Some purge their paine, by plaint I finde,
But I in vaine doe breathe my winde.

Finis. E.O.

[85.] ¶*His mynde not quietly setled, he writeth this.*

EVen as the waxe doeth melt, or dewe consume awaie,
Before ỹ Sonne, so I behold through careful thoughts decaie:
For my best lucke leads me, to suche sinister state,

That I doe wast with others loue, that hath my self in hate.
And he that beats the bushe, the wished birde not getts,
But suche I see as sitteth still, and holds the foulyng netts.

The Drone more honie sucks, that laboureth not at all,
Then doeth the Bee, to whose most pain, least pleasure doth befall:
The Gardner sowes the seeds, whereof the flowers doe growe,
And others yet doe gather them, that tooke lesse paine I knowe.
So I the pleasaunt grape haue pulled from the Vine,
And yet I languish in greate thirst, while others drinke the wine.

Thus like a wofull wight, I woue my webb of woe,
The more I would wede out my cares, the more thei seme to grow
The whiche betokeneth hope, forsaken is of me,
That with the carefull culuer climes, the worne & withered tree.
To entertaine my thoughts, and there my happe to mone,
That neuer am lesse idle loe, then when I am alone.

Finis.E.O.

[86.] ¶*Of the mightie power of Loue.*

MY meanyng is to worke, what wonders loue hath wrought,
Wherwith I muse why mē of wit, haue loue so derely bought:
For loue is worse then hate, and eke more harme hath doen,
Record I take of those that rede, of Paris Priams sonne.

It semed the God of slepe, had mazed so muche his witts,
When he refused witt for loue, whiche cometh but by fitts:
But why accuse I hym, whom yearth hath couered long,
There be of his posteritie aliue, I doe hym wrong.

Whom I might well condempne, to be a cruell iudge:
Vnto my self who hath the crime, in others that I grudge.

Finis.E.O.

Beyng

[87.] ¶*Beyng disdained, he complaineth.*

IF frendlesse faithe, if giltlesse thought maie shield,
If simple truthe that neuer ment to swerue:
If dere desire accepted frute doe yield,
If greedie lust in loyall life doe serue.
Then maie my plaint bewaile my heauie harme:
That sekyng calme, haue stombled on the storme.

My wonted cheare, ecclipsed by the cloude,
Of deepe disdaine, through errour of reporte:
If wearie woe enwrapped in thy shroude,
Lies slaine by tonge of the vnfrendly sorte.
Yet heauen and yearth, and all that nature wrought:
I call to vowe of my vnspotted thought.

No shade I seke in parte, to shilde my taint,
But simple truthe, I hunt no other sute:
On that I gape, the issue of my plaint,
If that I quaile, let iustice me confute.
If that my place, emongs the giltles sort,
Repaie by dome, my name and good report.

Goe heauie verse, persue desired grace,
Where pittie shrinde in cell of secret brest:
Awaits my hast, the rightfull lott to place,
And lothes to see, the giltles man opprest.
Whose vertues great, haue crouned her more with fame,
Then kyngly state, though largely shine the same.

Finis.L. Vaux.

[88.] ¶*Of the meane estate.*

THe higher that the Ceder tree, vnder the heauens doe growe,
The more in danger is the top, when sturdie winds gan blowe,
Who iudges then in princely throne, to be deuoide of hate,
Doeth not yet knowe, what heapes of ill, lies hid in suche estate.

Suche

Suche dangers greate,suche gripes of minde, suche toile doe thei sustaine,
That oftentimes, of God thei wishe, to be vnkyngde againe.

For as the huge & mightie rocks, withstande the ragyng seas,
So kyngdoms in subiection be, whereas dame Fortune please:
Of brittle ioye, of smilyng cheare, of honie mixt with gall,
Allotted is to euery Prince, in fredome to be thrall.
What watches longe,what stepps vnsure, what grefes and cares of minde:
What bitter broiles, what endles toiles, to kyngdoms be assingde.

The subiect then maie well compare w̃ prince for plesant daies,
Whose silent might bryngs quiet rest, whose might no storme bewraies:
How muche be we, then bounde to God, who suche prouision maks
To laye our cares vpon the Prince thus doeth he for our saks.
To hym therefore, let vs lift vp our harts, and praie a maine:
That euery Prince that he hath plast, maie long in quiet raigne.

Finis.L. V.

[89.] ¶*Of a contented mynde.*

VVHen all is doen and saied, in the ende thus shall you finde,
The moste of all doeth bathe in blisse, that hath a quiet minde:
And clere from worldly cares, to deame can be content,
The swetest tyme, in all his life, in thinkyng to be spent.

The bodie subiect is, to fickle Fortunes power,
And to a million of mishapps, is casuall euery hower:
And death in tyme doeth chaunge it to a clodde of claye,
When as the mynde whiche is deuine, runnes neuer to decaie.

Companion none is like, vnto the mynde alone,
For many haue been harmde by speache, through thinking fewe or none:
Fewe oftentymes restraineth words, but maks not thoughts to cease,
And he speaks best that hath the skill, when for to holde his peace.

Our wealth leaues vs at death, our kinsmen at the graue,
But vertues of the mynde, vnto the heauens with vs we haue:

Wherefore

Wherefore for vertues sake, I can be well content,
The swetest tyme of all my life, to deme in thinkyng spent.

Finis.L.Vaux.

[90.] ¶*Trie before you trust.*

TO counsell my estate, abandonde to the spoile,
Of forged frendes whose grosest fraude, it set with finest foile.
To verifie true dealyng wights, whose trust no treason dreads,
And all to deare thacquaintance be, of suche moste harmfull heads.
I am aduised thus, who so doeth frende, frende so,
As though to morrowe next he feared, for to become a fo.

To haue a fained frende, no perill like I finde,
Oft fleryng face maie mantell best, a mischief in the mynde:
A paire of angels eares, oft tymes doeth hide a serpents harte,
Vnder whose gripes who so doeth come, to late cōplaines ẽ ỹ smart.
Wherefore I doe aduise, who so doeth frende frende soe,
As though to morrowe next, he should become a mortall foe.

Refuse respectyng frends, that courtly knowe to faine,
For gold that winnes for gold, shall lose, the self same frend againe:
The Quaile needs neuer feare, in foulers netts to fall,
If he would neuer bende his eare, to listen to his call.
Therefore trust not to sone, but when you frende frende soe,
As though to morrowe next, ye feard for to become a foe.

Finis.L. Vaux.

[91.] ¶*He renounceth all the affectes of loue.*

LIke as the Harte that lifteth vp his eares,
To heare the hounds, that hath hym in the chase:
Doeth cast the winde, in daungers and in feares,
With fliyng foote, to passe awaie apace.
So must I fly of loue the vaine pursute,
Whereof the gaine is lesser then the fruite.

And I also must lothe those learyng looks,
Where loue doeth lurke still with a subtill slaight:
With painted mocks, and inward hidden hooks,
To trapp by trust, that lieth not in waite.
The ende whereof, assaie it who so shall,
Is sugred smart, and inward bitter gall.

And I also must flie suche Sirian songs,
Wherewith that Circes, Vlisses did enchaunt:
These wilie Watts I meane, with filed tongs,
That harts of steele, haue power to daunt,
Who so as hauke, that stoppeth to their call,
For moste desart, receiueth least of all.

But woe to me that first behelde those eyes,
The trapp wherein I saie, that I was tane:
An outward salue, whiche inward me destroies,
Whereto I runne, as Ratt vnto her bane.
As to the fishe, sometyme it doeth befall,
That with the baite, doeth swallowe hooke and all.

Within my breast, wherewith I daiely fedd,
The vaine repast of amorous hot desire:
With loytryng lust, so long that hath me fedd,
Till he hath brought me to the flamyng fire.
In tyme at Phenix ends her care and carks,
I make the fire, and burne my self with sparks.

Finis. L. Vaux.

[92.] ¶*Beyng in sorrowe he complaineth.*

MIstrust misdemes amisse, whereby displeasure growes,
And time delaied, finds frēds afraied, their faith for to disclose:
Suspect that breede the thought, and thought to sighes conuarte,
And sighs haue sought a floud of teares, wher sobbs do seke ye hart.

Thus

Thus harte that meanes no harme, must feede on sorrowes all,
Vntill suche tyme as pleaseth the iudge, the truth in question call:
Though cause of greate mistrust, before that iudge appeare,
My truthe and mercie of my iudge, I trust shall set me cleare.

Report these rimes at large, my truthe for to detecte,
Yet truthe in tyme shall trie it self, and driue awaie suspecte:
Beleue not euery speache, nor speake not all you heare,
For truthe and mercie of the iudge, I trust shall set me cleare.

Finis. L. V.

[93.] ¶*Beyng in loue, he complaineth.*

ENforst by loue and feare, to please and not offende,
Within the words you would me write, a message must I sende:
A wofull errande sure, a wretched man must write,
A wretched tale, a wofull head, besemeth to endite.

For what can he but waile, that hath but all he would.
And yet that all, is nought at all, but lacke of all he should:
But lacke of all his minde: what can be greater greif,
That haue & lacke that likes him best, must neds be most mischief.

Now foole what maks thee waile, yet some might saie full well
That hast no harme but of thy self, as thou thy self canst tell:
To whom I aunswere thus, since all my harmes doe growe,
Vpon my self, so of my self, some happ maie come I trowe.

And since I see bothe happ, and harme betids to me,
For present woe, my after blisse, will make me not forget thee:
Who hath a field of golde, and maie not come therein,
Must liue in hope till he haue forse, his treasure well to winne.

Whose ioyes by hope of dreade, to conquere or to lose,
So greate a wealth doeth rise, and for example doeth disclose:
To winne the golden flese, stoode Iason not in drede,
Till that Medeas hope of helpe, did giue hym hope to spede.

Yet sure his minde was muche, and yet his feare the more,
That hath no happ but by your helpe, maie happ for to restore:
The ragyng Bulls he dread, yet by his Ladies charme,
He knewe it might be brought to passe, thei could doe little harme.

Vnto whose grace yelde he, as I doe offer me,
Into your hands to haue his happ, not like hym for to be:
But as kyng Priamus did binde hym to the will.
Of Cressed false whiche hym forsooke, with Diomede to spill.

So I to you commende my faithe, and eke my ioye,
I hope you will not be so false, as Cressed was to Troye:
For if I be vntrue, her Lazares death I wishe,
And eke to thee if I be false, her clapper and her dishe.

Finis. R.L.

[94.] ¶*Beyng in trouble, he writeth thus.*

IN terrours trapp with thraldome thrust,
Their thornie thoughts to tast and trie:
In conscience cleare from case vniust,
With carpyng cares did call and crie.
And saied O God, yet thou art he,
That can and will deliuer me. *Bis.*

Thus tremblyng there with teares I trodd.
To totter tide in truthes defence:
With sighes and sobbs, I saied O God,
Let right not haue this recompence.
Lest that my foes might laugh to see,
That thou wouldest not deliuer me. *Bis.*

My soule then to repentaunce ranne,
My ragged clothes berent and torne:
And did bewaile the losse it wanne,
With lothsome life so long forlorne.
And saied O God yet thou art he,
That can and will deliuer me. *Bis.*

Then

Then comfort came with clothes of ioye
Whose semes were faithfull stedfastnesse:
And did bedecke that naked boye,
Whiche erst was full of wretchednesse.
And saied be glad for God is he,
That shortly will deliuer thee. *Bis.*

Finis. T. M.

[95.] ¶*Beyng troubled in mynde, he writeth as followeth.*

THe bitter sweate that straines my yelded harte,
The carelesse count, that doeth the same embrace:
The doubtfull hope, to reape my due desarte,
The pensiue path, that guids my restlesse race.
Are at suche warre within my wounded brest,
As doeth bereue my ioye and eke my rest,

My greedie will, that seks the golden gaine,
My luckles lot, doeth alwaie take in worthe:
My mated mynde, that dredes my sutes in vaine,
My piteous plaint, doeth helpe for to set forthe.
So that betwene twoo waues of ragyng seas,
I driue my daies in troubles and desease.

My wofull eyes doe take their chief delight,
To feede their fill vpon the pleasaunt maze:
My hidden harmes that growe in me by sight,
With pinyng paines doe driue me from the gaze.
And to my hope I reape no other hire,
But burne my self, and I to blowe the fire.

Finis.I.H.

[96.] ¶*Looke or you leape.*

IF thou in suertie safe wilt sitt,
If thou delight at rest to dwell:
Spende no more words then shall seme fitt,

Let tonge in silence talke expell.
In all thyngs that thou seest men bent,
Se all, saie nought, holde thee content.

In worldly works degrees are three,
Makers, doers, and lookers on:
The lookers on haue libertie,
Bothe the others to iudge vpon.
Wherefore in all, as men are bent,
Se all, saie nought, holde thee content.

The makers oft are in fault founde,
The doers doubt of praise or shame:
The lookers on finde surest grounde,
Thei haue the fruite, yet free from blame.
This doeth persuade in all here ment,
Se all, saie nought, holde thee content.

The prouerbe is not South and West,
Whiche hath be saied, long tyme agoe:
Of little medlyng cometh rest,
The busie man neuer wanteth woe.
The best waie is in all worlds sent,
Se all, saie nought, holde thee content.
Finis.Iasper Haywood.

[97.] ¶*He bewaileth his mishappe.*

IN wretched state alas I rewe my life,
Whose sorrowes rage torments with deadly paine:
In drowned eyes, beholde my teares be rife,
In doubtfull state, a wretche I must remaine,
You wofull wights enured to like distresse,
Bewaile with me my wofull heauinesse.

What stonie harte suche hardnes can retaine,
That sharpe remorse, no rest can finde therein:
What

What ruthlesse eyes so carelesse can remaine,
That daiely teares maie pitie winne.
For right I seeke, and yet renewe my sore,
Vouchsalfe at length my saftie to restore.

My loue is lost, woe worthe in woe I dye,
Disdainfull harte doeth worke suche hatefull spite:
In losse of loue a wretche must ioye to dye,
For life is death, now hope is banisht quite.
O death approche bereue my life from me,
Why should I liue opprest with woe to be.

Finis.R.H.

[98.] ¶*The complaint of a Synner.*

OHeauenly God, O Father dere, cast doune thy tender eye,
Vpon a wretche that prostrate here, before thy trone doeth lye:
O powre thy precious oyle of grace, into my wounded harte,
O let the dropps of mercie swage, the rigour of my smarte.

My fainting soule suppressed sore, with carefull clogge of sinne,
In humble sort submitts it self, thy mercie for to winne:
Graunt mercie then O sauiour swete, to me moste wofull thrall,
Whose mornfull crie to thee O Lorde, doeth still for mercie call.

Thy blessed will I haue despised, vpon a stubborne minde:
And to the swaie of worldly thyngs, my self I haue enclinde:
Forgettyng heauen, & heauēly powers, where God and saincts do dwel
My life had likt to tread the path, ẏ leads the waie to hell.

But now my lorde, my lode starre bright I will no more doe so:
To thinke vpon my former life, my harte doeth melt for woe.
Alas I sigh, alas I sobbe, alas I doe repent:
That euer my licencious will, so wickedly was bent.

Sith thus therefore with yernfull plain, I doe thy mercie craue
O Lorde for thy greate mercies sake, let me thy mercie haue:
Restore to life the wretched soule, that els is like to dye,
So shall my voyce vnto thy name, syng praise eternally.

Now

Now blessed be the Father first, and blessed be the Sonne,
And blessed be the holie Ghoste, by whom all thyngs are doen:
Blesse me O blessed Trinitie, with thy eternall grace,
That after death my soule maie haue, in heauen a dwellyng place.

Finis.F.K.

[99.] ¶*The fruite, that sprynges from wilfull wites, is ruthe, and ruins rage:*
And sure what heedelesse youth committes, repentaunce rues in age.

IRage in restlesse ruthe, and ruins rule my daies,
I rue (to late) my rechlesse youthe, by rules of reasons waies:
I ran so long a race, in searche of surest waie,
That leasure learnde me tread the trace, that led to leud decaie.
I gaue so large a raine, to vnrestrained bitt,
That now with proofe of after paine, I waile my want of witt:
I trifeled forthe the tyme, with trust to self conceiptes,
Whilst plēties vse prickt forth my prime, to search for sugred baites.
Wherein once learnde to finde, I founde so sweete a taste,
That dewe foresight of after speede, self will estemed waste.
Whiche will, through wilfulnesse, hath wrought my witlesse fall,
And heedelesse youthes vnskilfulnesse, hath lapt my life in thrall.
Whereby by proofe I knowe, that pleasure breedeth paine,
And he that euill seede doeth sowe, euill frute must reape againe.
Let suche therefore, whose youth, and pursses are in Prime,
Foresee & shun, the helplesse ruthe, whiche sews misspence of time.
For want is nexte to waste, and shame doeth synne ensue,
Euil speding proofe hath hedeles hast, my self hath proued it true.
When neighbours next house burnes, tis tyme thereof take hede,
For fortunes whele hath choise of turnes, which change of chāses breds.
My saile hath been aloft, though now I beare but lowe,
Who clims to high selde falleth soft, dedst ebbe hath highest flowe.

Finis. ꝓ Yloop.

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ADDITIONAL POEMS

FROM

THE PARADISE OF DAINTY DEVICES

1578

[100.] *Who wayteth on this wauering world, and veweth each estate,*
By tryall taught shall learne it best, to liue in simple rate.

AMid the vale the sclender shrubbe, is hid from all mishap,
When taller tree that standes aloft, is rent with thunder clap.
The Turrets tops which touch the cloudes, are beat with euery blast,
Soone shiuered are their stones with storme, and quickly ouer cast.
Best bodyed tree in all the wood, for tymber beame is found,
And to the axe the sturdiest Oxe, dooth yeeld and fall to ground.
The highest hill dooth soonest feele, the flash of lightnings flame,
And soone decayes the pomp and pryde, of high renowmed name.
Of all the heard the huntman seekes, by proofe as dooth appere,
With double forked arrowe head, to wound the greatest Deare.
The hautiest head of all the droue, enioyes the shortest life,
And staines the slaughter house with blood, at pricke of butchers knife.
Thus what thing hyest place atteynes, is soonest ouerthrowne,
What euer Fortune sets a loft, she threates to throw it downe.
And though no force resist thy power, nor seeke thee to confound,
Yet dooth the payse of weighty things, decline it selfe to ground.
For restlesse tipe of roulling wheele, example hath it tryde,
To heauy burden yeelde it must ful soone, and slip asyde.
What vayles the rich his bed of down, ỹ sighes for sleplesse thought,
What time in couch of flock the poore, sleepes sound & feareth nought.
At homely boord his quiet foode, his drinkes in treene be tane,
When oft the proud in cuppes of gold, with wine receiue their bane.
The bed, the boord, the dread in dout, with trayne to be opprest,
When fortune frounes, their power must yeelde, as wyre vnto ỹ wrest.
[Who so thou be that sits alow, and tread the valleyes path,
Thou needes not feare the Thunder bolts of mighty Ioue his wrath]
If *Icarus* had not presumed to high to take his flight,
He had not yet ben drowned in Seas, that now *Itarion* hight.
If *Phaeton* had not enterprised to guide his fathers seate,
His fires had not enflamed the world, nor ben destroyed with heate.
But who so climes aboue the meane, there is no hope of stay,

The higher vp the sooner downe, and nearer his decay.
Then you that here in pompe or place, to guide the golden mase,
Let crowne and Septer both obay the meane of Vertues race.
For neither shall renowmed Vertue see the pit of hell,
Nor yet in toombe of Marble stone, she may abide to dwell.
[And in that Tombe full brauely dect When that she shall depart,
God send her rest and all thinges well, according to desart.]
But from Sepulcher flies she hence, beyond the skies aboue,
And glistering in the blisful stares, she raines with mighty Ioue.

FINIS. Iasper Heywood.

[101.] *He perswadeth his freend,*
from the fond Affectes of loue.

WHY art thou bound & maist go fre, shal reason yeld to raging wil?
Is thraldom like to libertye? wilt thou exchange thy good for ill?
Then shalt thou learne a childish play, and of each part to tast and proue:
The lookers on shall iudge and say, loe this is he that liues by loue.

Thy wittes with thoughts, shall stand at stay, thy head shall haue but heauy rest.
Thy eyes shal watch for wanton prayes, thy tongue shall shew thy harts request.
Thy eares shall heare a thousand noyse, thy hand shall put thy pen to payne:
And in the ende, thou shalt disprayse, thy life so spent, for such small gaine.

If loue and list might euer cope, or youth might runne in reasons race:
Or if strong sute might win sure hope, I would lesse blame a louers case.
For loue is hotte, with great desire, and sweete delight makes youth so fond,
That little sparkes will proue great fyre, and bring free harts to endlesse bond.

First count the care and then the cost, and marke what fraude in faith is found:
Then after come and make thy bost, and shew some cause why thou art bound.
For when the wine doth runne full low, you shall be faine to drinke the lies:
And eate the flesh ful well I know, that hath ben blowne with many flies.

We see where great deuotion is, the people kneele and kisse the crosse:
And though we find small fault of this, Yet some will gilld a bridles bosse.
A foole his bable will not change, not for the septer of a king,
A louers life is nothing strange, for youth delightes none other thing.

FINIS. Tho. Churchyard.

[102.] *A replie to M. Edwards MAY.*

I Read a maying rime of late delighted much my eare,
It may delight as many moe, as it shall reade or heare.
To see how there is shewed, how May is much of price,
And eake to May when that you may, euen so is his aduice.
It seemes he meant to may himselfe, and so to vse his skill,
For that the time did serue so well, in May to haue his will.
His onely May was ease of mind, so farre as I can gesse,
And that his may his mind did please, a man can iudge no lesse.

And as himselfe did reape the fruites, of that his pleasant May,
He wils his freende the same to vse, in time when as he may.
He is not for him selfe it seemes, but wisheth well to all,
For ẏ t he would they should, take May in time when it doth fall.
So vse your May, you may, it can not hurtful be,
And May well vsed in time and place, may make you mery gle:
Modest maying mettest is, of this you may be suer,
A modest maying quietnes, to Mayers doth procure.

Who may and will not take, may wish he had so done,
Who may and it doth take, may thinke he tooke too sone.
So ioyne your May with wisedomes lore, and then you may be suer,
Who makes his May in other sort, his vnrest may procuer.
Some May before May come, some May when May is past,
Some make their May to late, and some doe May posthast.
Let wisedome rule I say your May, and thus I make an ende,
And May, that when you list to May, a good may God you sende.

FINIS. M. S.

[103.] *An Epitaph vpon the death of Syr Edward Saunders. Knight, Lord cheefe Baron of the Exchequer.*

YOU Muses weare your mourning weeds, strike on ẏ e fatal Drome
Sound *Triton* out the trumpe of fame, in spite of *Parcas* dome.
Distill *Parnassus* pleasant drops, possesse *Pierides* plase,
Apollo helpe with dolefull tune, to wayle this wofull case.

Wring hard you hands, waile on you losse, lament the fate that fell,
With sobs and sighes to *Saunders* say, oh *Saunders* now farewell.
Whom *Phœbus* fed with *Pallas* pappe, as one of *Sibils* seede,
Loe here where death did rest his corpes, the vermine foule to feede.
Whom Impes of *Ioue* with *Necter* sweete, long in *Libethres* noursht,
Behold how dreadful death him brought, to ẏ whence he came first.
Lycurgus he for learned lawes, *Rhadamanthus* race that ranne,
A nother *Nestor* for aduise, *Zalucus* fame that wanne.
A *Damon* deare vnto his freend, in faith like *Phocion* found,
A *Cato* that could counsel giue, to prince a subiect sound.
Not *Athens* for their *Solon* sage, not *Rome* for *Numa* waile,
As we for *Saunders* death haue cause, in sods of teares to saile.
Not *Sparta* card for *Chilos* death, ne proud *Prienna* prest,
To weepe for *Bias* as we wayle, for *Saunders* late possest.
His learned pathes his talentes rare, so now by death appeares,
As he that *Salomon* sought to serue, in prime and youthful yeeres,
His counsel sad, his rules, his lawes, in country soyle so wrought,
As though in *Cuma* he had benn, of sage *Sibilla* taught.
His vertuous life was such I say, as Vertue did embrace,
By Vertue taught in Vertues schoole, to grow in vertues race.
Might tender babes, might orphants weak, might widows rere ẏ cry,
The sound thereof shoulde pearce the cloudes, to skale ẏ empire sky.
To bid the gods to battel bend, and to dissend in sight,
Though ffarre vnfit, and mates vnmeete, with mortal men to fight.
Too late (alas) we wish his life, to soone deceiued vs Death.
Too little wit we haue to seeke, the dead agayne to breath.
What helplesse is, must carelesse be, as Natures course doth shewe,
For death shal reape what life hath sowen, by nature this we know.
Where is that ferce *Achilles* fled, where is king *Turnus* shroude,
What is be come of *Priamus* state, where is *Periander* proude:
Hector, *Hanno*, *Hanibal*, dead, *Pompei*, *Pirrhus* spild,
Scipio, *Cirus*, *Cæsar* slaine, and *Alexander* kild.

So long there Fortune fast did floe, and charged Fame to sound,
Tyll frowning Fortune foyld by fate, which fawning fortune found:
Shun Fortunes feates, shake fortune of to none is fortune sound,
Sith none may say of Fortune so, I Fortune faithful found.
Beholde where Fortune flowed so fast, and fauoured Saunders lure,
Till fickle Fortune false again did Saunders death procure.
Lo clothed could in cloddes of clay, in drossy dust remaine,
By fate returnd from whence he came, to his mothers wombe againe.
Who welnigh thirtie yeeres was Iudge, before a Iudge dyd fall,
And iudged by that mighty Iudge, which Iudge shall iudge vs all.
The heauens may of right reioyce, and earth may it bewayle,
Sith heauen wan, and earth hath lost, the guide and arke of vaile.
There gaine is much, our losse is great, there mirth our mone is such,
That they may laugh as cause doo yeeld, and we may weepe as much:
O happy he, vnhappy we, his hap doth aye encrease,
Happy he, and haplesse we, his hap shall neuer cease.
We liue to dye, he dyed to liue, we want, and he possest,
We bide in bands, he bathes in blisse, the Gods aboue him blest.
Being borne to liue, he liued to dye, and dyed to God so plaine,
That birth, that life, that death, doo shew, that he shall liue againe:
His youth to age, his age to death, his death to fame applied,
His fame to time, his time to God, thus Saunders liued and dyed.
O happy life, O happier death, O tenne times happy he,
Whose hap it was, such hap to haue, a Iudge this age to be.
Oh ioyfull time, oh blessed soyle, where *Pallas* rules with witte,
O noble state, O sacred seate, where *Saba* sage dooth sitte.
Like *Susan* sound, like *Sara* sad, with *Hesters* mace in hand,
With *Iudiths* sword *Bellona* like, to rule this noble land.
I had my will, you haue your wish, I laugh, reioyce you may,
I wan now much, you gaine no lesse, to see this happy day.
Wherein I dyed, wherin you liue, Oh treble happy cost,
Wherein I ioyed in glory great, wherin you triumpth most.

Kneele on your knees, knock hard your brests, sound forth ȳ ioyful drome
Clap loude your handes, sound Eccho say, the golden world is come.
Reioyce you Iudges may of right, your mirth may now be such,
As neuer earst you Iudges had, in England mirth so much.
Here *Cuma* is, here *Sibill* raignes, on *Delphos* seat to sitte,
Here shee like *Phœbus* rules, that can *Gordius* knot vnknitte.
I liued to nature long ynough, I liued to honor much,
I liued at wish, I died at will, to see my country such.
As neither needes it *Numas* lawes, nor yet *Apollos* sweard,
For Mauger Mars, yet Mars shalbe of this our Queene afeard.
O peerlesse pearle, O Diamond deer, O Queene of Queenes farwell,
Your royall maiestie God preserue in England long to dwell.
Farwell the *Phœnix* of the world, farwel my soueraigne Queene,
Farwel most noble vertuous prince, *Mineruas* mate I weene.
No Iuel, Gemme, no Gold to giue, no pearles from *Pactolus* lo,
No Persian Gaze, no Indian stones, no Tagus sands to show.
But faith and will to natiue soyle a liue and dead I find,
My hart my mind, my loue I leaue vnto my prince behind.
Farwel you nobles of this land, farwel you Iudges graue,
Farwel my felowes, frends and mates, your Queene I say God saue.
What rise in time, in time doth, fal, what floweth in time doth ebbe,
What liues in time, in time shall dye, and yeelde to *Parcas* webbe.
The sunne to darknes shalbe turnd, the starres from skies shall fall.
The Moone to blood, the world with fire shalbe consumed all.
As smoke or vapour vanish streight, as bubbles rise and fall.
As clowdes do passe or shadow shiftes we liue, we dye so all.
Our pompe our pride, our triump moste, our glory great herein,
Like shattering shadow passe away, as though none such had bin.
Earth, water, ayre, and fire, as they were earst before,
A lumpe confused, and *Chaos* calld, so shall they once be more.
And all to earth, that came from earth, and to the graue descend,
For earth on earth, to earth shall goe, and earth shall be the end.

As Christ ascended vp in clowdes, so Christ in clowdes shall come,
To iudge both good and bad on earth, at dreadful day of dome.
From whence our flesh shall rise again, euen from the drossy dust,
And so shall passe I hope, vnto the mansion of the iust.
FINIS. Lodowick LLoyd.

[104.] *Of a Freend and a Flatterer.*

ATrustie frend is rare to find, a fawning foe may sone be got:
A faithful frend bere stil in mind, but fawning foe regard thou not
A faithful freend no cloke doth craue, to colour knauery withal:
But *Sicophant* a Goun must haue, to beare a port what ere befal.
A nose to smel out euery feast, a brasen face to set it out:
A shamles child or homly geast, whose life doth like to range about.
A fauning foe while wealth doth last, a thefe to rob and spoile his freend:
As strong as oke til wealth doth last, but rotten sticke doth proue in the (end

Looke first, then leape, beware the mire:
Burnt Child is warnd to dread the fire:
Take heede my freend, remember this,
Short horse (they say) soone curried is.
FINIS. M. Edwardes.

[105.] *If thou desire to liue in quiet rest,*
geue eare and se but say the best.

I*f thou:* delight, in quietnes of life,
Desire: to shonn, from bralls, debate and strife,
To liue: in loue with god, with frend and foe,
In rest: shalt sleepe: when others cannot so.

Giue eare: to all, yet doo not all beleeue,
And see: the end, and then do sentence geeue:
But say: for truth of happy liues assind,
The best: hath he that quiet is in mind.
FINIS. M. Hunnis.

[106.] *A dialog betwene the auctour and his eye.*

Auctour.

MY eye why didst thou light on that, whiche was not thyne?
Why hast thou with thy sight, thus slaine an harte of myne?
O thou vnhappie eye, would God thou hadst been blinde,
When first thou didst her spie, for whom this grief I finde.

Eye.

Why sir it is not I, that doe deserue suche blame,
Your fancie not your eye, is causer of the same:
For I am readie prest, as page that serues your ease,
To searche what thyng is beste, that might your fancie please.

Aucthour.

I sent thee forthe to see, but not so long to bide,
Though fancie went with thee, thou wert my fancies guide:
Thy message beyng doen, thou mights retourne againe,
So Cupid Venus sonne, no whit my harte should paine.

Eye.

Where fancie beareth swaye, there Cupid will bee bolde,
And reason flies awaie, from Cupids shafte of golde:
If you finde cause thereby, some deale of painfull smarte,
Alas blame not your eye, but blame consent of harte.

Auctour.

My harte must I excuse, and laye the fault on thee,
Because thy sight did chuse, when harte from thought was free:
Thy sight thus brought consente, consent hath bred my grief,
And grief bids bee content, with sorrowe for relief.

FINIS. M. Hunnis.

[107.] *No paines comparable to his attempt.*

LIke as the dolefull Doue, delights alone to bee,
And doeth refuse the bloumed branche, chusyng the leaflesse tree.
Whereon wailyng his chaunce, with bitter teares besprent,
Doeth with his bill, his tender breaste ofte pearse and all to rent.
Whose greeuous gronyngs tho: whose grips of pinyng paine,
Whose gastly lookes, whose bloudie streams out flowyng frō ech vain.
Whose fallyng from the tree, whose pantyng on the grounde,
Examples bee of myne estate, tho there appere no wounde.

FINIS. W. Hunnis.

[108.] *He repenteth his follie.*

ALacke when I looke backe, vpon my youth thatz paste,
And deepely ponder youthes offence, and youths reward at laste.
With sighes and teares I saie, O God I not denie,
My youth with follie hath deserued, with follie for to die.
But yet if euer synfull man, might mercie moue to ruthe,
Good Lorde with mercie doe forgiue, the follies of my youthe.

In youth I rangde the feelds, where vices all did growe,
In youth alas I wanted grace, suche vise to ouerthrowe,
In youth what I thought sweete, moste bitter now do finde,
Thus hath the follies of my youth, with folly kept me blind
Yet as the Egle casts her bill, whereby her age renueth,
So Lorde with mercie doe forgiue, the follies of my youth.

FINIS. M. Hunnis.

[109.] *The fruite of feined frendes.*

IN choise of frends what hap had I, to chuse one of Cirēs kind (blind
whose harp, whose pipe, whose melody could fede my ears & make me
Whose pleasant voice made me forget, ẏ in sure trust is gret deceit.

In trust I see is treason founde, and man to man deceitfull is,
And whereas treasure doeth abounde, of flatterers there doe not misse:
Whose painted speache, & outward show, do seme as frends & be not so.

Would I haue thought in thee to be, the nature of the Crocadill:
Whiche if a man a slepe maie see, with bloudie thirst desires to kill:
And then w̃ teares a while gan wepe, the death of him thus slain a slepe

O fauell false, thou traitor borne, what mischief more might ỹ deuise
Then thy deare frend to haue in scorne, & hym to wound in sundry wise
Whiche still a frende pretends to bee, and are not so by proofe I see.
Fie, fie, vpon suche trecherie. *W. H.*

If suche false Shippes doe haunte the shore,
Strike doune the saile and trust no more. *M. Edwardes.*

[110.] *Verses written of 20. good precepts, at the request of his Especiall good freend & kinseman, M. Robart Cudden of Grayes Inne.*

OLde frendship binds (though faine I would refuse)
In this discourse, to please your honest mind:
For trust me frend, the counseling words I vse,
Are rather forst of cause, then come of kind.

Your theames are short, and yet in substance large,
As of the least, some would a volume write,
The first, *Sarue God*, a seruice of such charge,
As should not be, forslowed day or night.

For what we do is present in his eye,
Well doing then, he must with grace regard:
And vsing course: if he ill doing spye,
He can not but, the leude with wrath reward.

Obey thy Prince, or Tyborne coole thy pride,
The head commaunds, the feete to goe or stay:
So we our prince, euen as our head and guide,
In what she wils, of dewty must obey.

Like well thy frende, but trye him are thou loue,
For frends, we may, to *Æsopes* tongues compare:
The faithful frend, no fortune can remoue,
The fayre mouth foe in neede, doth feede thy care.

Shun many words, a sentence short and swete,
For lauish speach, is cause of much vnrest:
It makes men oft, their freendes in sorrow meete,
And beast aplyde, fayre words, syld bides the test.

Auoyde anger, or looke to liue in woe,
The harbraine Iade, is far more spurd and beat:
Then cooler horse, which meaner mettel shoe,
The like reward the hasty man doth geat.

Appease debate, an honest worke in troth,
Much phisicke oft, increaseth sickly qualmes:
Recounting wronges, so many makes so wroth
As liues, leagwes, armes, are often dealt for almes,

Be merciful haue *Diues* scourge in mind,
None liues so iust, but some way doth offend:
Then cruel man what fauor shouldst thou find,
When thou thy eares to pitie will not bend.

Slaunder no man, mirth is a leach to mone,
Health, phisick helpes, fortune restoreth welth:
But honest fame, by slaunder spoyld and gone,
Health, wealth, nor myrth, can satisfy the stealth.

Report the Truth, once there one tryal standes,
Note wel, the fall of good *Susannas* foes:
Vpon thy lyfe oft lyeth life and lands,
A wayghty charge, least thou the truth disclose.

Take heede of drinke, therin much mischefe lyes,
It doth disclose the seacrets of the breast:
What worse account, then for none to be wise,
When none is past to be estemed a beast.

Disdayne no man, misse iudgement often blindes,
All is not fyre, like flame, that seemes to blaze:
Once homely weades, oft hides more gallant mindes,
Then gawdy cotes, which sets each eye to gase,

Thy secreates keepe, or make thy selfe a slaue,
The babling foole, is made a iesting stock:
When closely men account, and credit haue,
Then beast ỹ thou, thy tongue with sylence locke.

Try are thou trust. thy fayth least falcehod quite,
The *Crocadill* with teares doth win her praye,
The *flattrer* so, doth seeme a saynt in sight,
To cut thy throte, in absence if he may.

Cherish the poore, a worke in nature due,
Brute beastes releue, the feable of their kind:
Then man for shame, with sucker see thou rue,
Of men dystrest, the sicke, the lame, or blind.

Ayde honest mindes, and prayse shal pay thy meede,
The subtil wretch for pence, with fraude will fishe:
The honest man, had rather starue in neede,
Then by deceit, to feede dishonest wish.

Shun wanton Dames. as *Sirens* they intice
Both body and purse, they witch wound and wast,
And in the end (for all this sawcy price)
There sweete delites, of sower repentance tast.

Sucker souldiers. They watch to keepe thy wealth,
In wars they serue, that thou in peace maist feede:
Then if throwe lacke, the souldier liue by stelth,
I wish a churle fayre hanged in his stead.

Strangers fauor thy fortune is vnknowne,
In youth or age, none liues but needes a freend:
And vsing grace, if thou be ouerthrowne,
Thou yet mayst hope, thy greefe with grace to end.

Prouide for age. or looke to dye with greefe,
Some forst throw shame ther aged freends do ayde:
But O sowre lookes, *so salues this sweete releefe.*
As day and night, with sighes they are dismayde.

Thinke on thy end. the tyde for none doth waight,
Euen so pale death, for no mans wil doth stay:
Then while thou mayst thy worldly reckning straight,
Least when thou wouldest Death doth goodwil dismay.
G. Whetstones. Formæ nulla fides.

[111.] *That Loue is requited by disdaine.*

IN searche of thyngs that secret are, my mated muse began,
What it might be, molested moste the head and mynde of man.
The bendyng brow of princes face, to wrathe that doeth attende,
Or want of parents, wife or childe, or losse of faithfull frende.
The roryng of the Canon shot, that makes the peece to shake,
Or terrour suche as mightie Ioue, from heauen aboue can make.
All these in fine maie not compare experience so doeth proue,
Vnto the torments sharpe and strange, of suche as be in loue.

Loue lookes a loft and laughs to scorne all suche as grefe anoye.
The more extreme their passions be, the greater is his ioye.
Thus Loue as victor of the felde, triumps aboue the rest,
And ioyes to see his subiects lye, with liuyng death in brest.
But dire disdaine letts driue a shaft, and gauls this braggyng foole,
He plucks his plumes, vnbendes his bowe and sets hym newe to scole,
Whereby this boye, that bragged late, as conquerer ouer all,
Now yelds hym self vnto disdaine his vessall and his thrall.

FINIS. W. Hunnis.

[112.] *Of a contented state.*

IN wealth we se some wealthie men, abound in wealth moste welthely
In wealth we se those men again, in wealth do liue moste wretchedly.
And yet of wealthe hauyng more store,
Then erst of wealth thei had before.

These welthy men do seme to want, thei seme to want ẏ most thei haue
The more postes, ẏ more thei craue, the more thei craue ẏ greater store
That moste thei haue, thei thinke but skant.
Yet not content, wo be therefore,
The simple men that lesse wealth haue, with lesser wealth we se contēt,
Content are thei twixt wealth and scath, a life to lead indifferent.
And thus of wealth these men haue more,
Then those of whiche we spoke before.
FINIS. W. Hunnis.

[113.] *Bethinking hym self of his ende, writeth thus.*

WHen I beholde the baier, my laste and postyng horsse,
That bare shall to the graue, my vile and carren corsse.
Then saie I seely wretche, why doest thou put thy truste,
In thyngs eithe made of claye, that sone will tourne to duste,

Doest thou not see the young, the hardie and the faire,
That now are paste and gone, as though thei neuer were:
Doest thou not see thy self, drawe hourly to thy laste,
As shafts whiche that is shotte, at birds that flieth faste.

Doest thou not see how death, through smiteth with his launce,
Some by warre, some by plague, and some with worldlie chaunce:
What thyng is there on yearth, for pleasure that was made,
But goeth more swifte awaie, then doeth the Sommer shade.

Loe here the Sommer floure, that sprong this other daie,
But Winter weareth as faste, and bloweth cleane awaie:
Euen so shalt thou consume, from youth to lothsome age,
For death he doeth not spare, the prince more then the page.

Thy house shall be of claie, a clotte vnder thy hedde,
Vntill the latter daie, the graue shall be thy bedde:
Vntill the blowyng trumpe, doeth saie to all and some,
Rise vp out of your graue, for now the Iudge is come.
FINIS. L. Vaux.

ADDITIONAL POEMS

FROM

THE PARADISE OF DAINTY DEVICES

1580

[114.] *Written vpon the death of his especiall good friend Maister Iohn Barnabie, who departed this life at Bensted in the countie of Southampton 25. Ianuary.* 1579. *Ætatis.* 78.

MIne owne good father thou art gone thine eares are stopt w̃ clay
Thy gost is fled, thy body dead, thou hearste not what I say.
Thy dearest friends may sigh & sobb, thy children cry and call,
Thy wife may waile and not preuaile, nor doe thee good at all.
Though reason would we should reioyce, & trickling teares restraine,
Yet kindlynes and friendlynes, enforce vs to complaine.
Thy life was good our losse the more, thy presence cherd our hart,
Thy lacke and absence turnd therefore, our solace into smart.
I found thee both a kindly friend, and friendly father too,
Barnabie lacks breath, O cruel death & couldst thou part vs two.
But death derides my wofull words, & to my saying saith,
Thou foolish wight I did but right, I force nor friend nor faith.
The Lord of life & Lord of death, my threatning hand did let,
Els when y̆ he in cradell lay, I might haue claimd my debt.
His corps is clad in cloddes of earth, his soule doth soore on hie,
Before the throne of God aboue, whose seruaunt he did die.
And thou his friend & she his spouse, and they his children shall,
Behold the father friend and mate, whose absence greeues you all.
But he nor can, nor will returne to thee to her or them,
For heauen is his, he liues in blisse, ye dwell with mortall men.
Ye dwell in darke & dreadfull denne in prison pent are yee,
He liues in light, and all delight, from thraldome franke and free.
Wishe not that he should come to you for then you doe him wrong,
But wishe that ye may goe to him, the blessed saintes among.

FJNJS. H. D.

[115.] *No ioy Comparable to a quiet minde.*

IN lothsome race pursued by slippery life,
Whose sugred guile doth glistering ioy present:
The carefull ghost oppressed sore with strife,
Yeeldes ghostly grones from painefull passions sent.
The sinfull flesh that beares him here in vewe,
In steede of life doth dreadfull death pursue.

The way he seeth by touche of merites grace,
Wherein to runne alas he gladly would:
But filthy fleshe his wretched dwelling place,
Doth so rebell at that which doe he should.
That silly soule who feeles his heauie neede,
Can onely will but naught performe in deede.

The will through grace doth oft desire the good,
But all in vaine for that the fleshly foe:
Yeeldes forth such fruites as sinnes hath bred in bud,
And blindly suckes the sapp of deadly woo.
Esteeming showes of fickell fancies knowen,
And scorning fruite by grace, eternall sowen.

Though eye doth see that death doth swallow all,
Both life and lust and euery sound delight:
Yet wretched fleshe through sinne is made so thrall,
That nought it markes apparent thinges in sight.
That might him traine, to care of better grace,
Both doth his bale with greedy lust imbrace.

Then sins desert and all things weare away,
That nought remaine but fruite of grace or sinne:
God build in vs such conscience as can say,
This fruite not mine but sinne that dwelt me in.
For why to sinne I dayly do in sight,
That vnto Christ I may reuiue my spright.

FINIS. G. Candish.

[116.] *A Complaint.*

IF *Cressed* in her gadding moode,
Had not gone to the greekish hoste:
Where she by Diomede was woode,
And wonne from him that loude her most.
She had not fallen to such mischeefe,
Nor turned *Troylus* to such greefe,

Nor *Diomede* had not vpbrayed,
To worthy *Troylus*, *Cressed* spoyle.
Nor these two worthies had not frayed,
So oft ech others fame to foyle:
If Catterwaling *Cressed* coy,
Had taried with her loue in *Troy*.

No *Troians* foe, nor cruell *Greike*,
Had triumphte ouer her good name:
If she had not gone forth to seeke,
The Campe where women winne no fame,
She had bene calde no common Gill,
If she in *Troy* had tarryed still.

She had not knowne the Lazars call,
With Cuppe and Clap her almes to winne:
Nor how infectiue scabbe and scall,
Do cloth the Lepre Ladies skinne,
She had no such distresse in *Troy*,
But honour, fauour, wealth, and ioy.

Howbeit she could not tarry there,
But needes forsooth a gadding go,
To feele the tast of Straungers chere,
Nise noueltie lo prickt her so.
She could not hold where she was well,
But strayed and into ruin fell.

I pleasure not to blaze her blame,
Nor chiding cannot mend her mis:
But all good women by her shame,
May learne what Catterwaling is.
For wandring women, most men say,
Cannot be good and goe astray.

It is not womens excercise,
To straye or gadde in field or towne:
Men count them neyther good nor wyse,
They blot and blemish their renowne.
They hurt their fame, they please their foe,
And greeues their friend to see them so.

FINIS Troylus.

[117.] *A Replye.*

NO gadding moode, but forced strife,
Compelled me retyre from *Troy:*
If *Troylus* would haue vowde his wife,
We might haue dwelt in former ioy.
No *Diomede* nor greekish wight,
Had sought my blame or his despight.

If ought the feeble force of mine,
Could haue withstood the Kingly heast,
If flowing fluds of stilled rine,
Had pittie found in *Troians* brest,
I had not bene *Antenors* prise,
Nor thus bene thrall to noted vise.

The blome of blame had not bine spread,
The seede of shame had not bine sowne:
If Knightly prowes his minde had lead,
By rightfull force to keepe his owne.
I had not thralled bine to ill,
If he in Troy had kept me still.

My heauie hart and dolefull case,
Which craues your pitie not your spight:
Full well you know hath had no place,
If he had garded well his right.
I see your curtesie small, your store,
That blaze my plague to make it more.

You say in Troy I woulde not bee,
With gadding minde you charge me still:
When well you knowé that hie decree,
Did send me forth against my will.
Sith thus you triumph at my fall,
Ye ought to tell the cause withall.

If nought you ioy to blaze my blame,
You woulde not hunt for termes of spight,
Nor faine me cause of all the same,
Small honour wonne in such a fight.
For they that noble minded bee,
Will rue the case and pittie mee.

I well allowe your finall clause,
To gadde and runne doth blot the name,
But lay the fault vnto the cause,
And graunt him gilthy of the same.
Who bred the bud that pleased my foe,
That greeued my friendes and hurt me soe.

FINIS. Cressida.

[118.] *A description of the world.*

WHat is this world, a net to snare the soule,
A mas of sinne, a desert of deceite,
A momentes ioy, an age of wretched dole,
A lure from grace, for flesh a lothsome bayre.
Vnto the minde a canker worme of care,
Vnsure, vniust, in rendring man his share.

The Paradise

A place where pride orerunnes the honest minde,
Where rich men ioynes to robbe the shiftlesse wretch,
Where bribing mistes doe blinde the Iudges eyes,
Where Parasites the fattest crums do catch,
Where good desartes which chalenge like reward,
Are ouer blowne with blastes of light regard,

And what is man? dust, slime, a puffe of wynde,
Conceaude in sinne, plaste in the world with greefe,
Brought vp with care, till care hath caught his minde,
And then till death vouchsafe him some releefe.
Day, yea nor night, his care doth take an ende,
To gather goods for other men to spende.

Oh foolish man that art in office plaste,
Thinke whence thou camste, and whether thou shalt go,
The haute hie Okes, small windes haue ouercast,
When slender weedes in roughest weather groe,
Euen so pale death oft spares the wretched wight,
And woundeth you, who wallow in delight.

You lusty youthes that nourish hie desire,
Abase your plumes, which makes you looke so bigge,
The Collyers Cut the Courtiers Steede will tyre,
Euen so the Clarke, the parsons graue doth digge,
Whoso happe is yet here long life to winne,
Doth heape God wot, but sorrow vpon sinne.

And to be short, all sortes of men take heede,
The Thunderboltes the lofty towers tare,
The lightning flashe consumes the house of Reede,
Yea more in time all earthly thinges will weare,
Saue only man, who as his earthly time is,
Shall liue in woe, or else in endlesse blisse.

FINIS. G. G.

[119.] *Being in Loue, he complaineth.*

MY haute desyre, to hye that seeketh rest,
My feare to find, where hope my help should giue,
My sighes and plaintes sent from vnquiet brest,
The hardned hart that will not truth beleeue,
Bids me dispayre, and Reason saith to me,
Forsake for shame, the sute that shameth thee,

But when mine eyes behold the alluring cayes,
Which only me to Cupids spoyle haue trainde,
Desyre a new doth worke his wonted wayes,
Thus shall I freeze, and yet I frye in payne,
O quenchlesse fyre to quayle and quick agayn.

Such is the flame, where burning loue doth last,
As hye ne low can beare with reasons bitte,
And such is loue, wherein is setled fast,
That naught but death can ease his feruent fitte,
Then cannot I, nor loue will me forsake,
Sweete is the death, that faithfull loue doth make,
FINIS. M. Edwardes.

[120.] ¶*An Epitaph vpon the death of syr William Drury, Knight, Lord Justice and Gouernour of Yreland, deceased at Waterford the thyrd of October. An. Do. 1579.*

IN place where wantes *Apollo* with his Lute,
There peeuish *Pan* may prease to pipe a daunce,
Where men of skill and learned Clarkes are mute,
There Fooles may prate, and hit the truth perchaunce,
Why spare I then to speake, when all are mumme,
And vertue left forgot in time to come.

Giue pardon then to him that takes in hande,
Though neuer taught with Poets pen to write,
Will yet presume, to let you vnderstand,
No straunge euent, although a sieldome sight,
Which late I saw, a dolefull tale to tell,
And followeth thus, then marke how it befell.

I saw *Report* in mourning weede arayde,
Whose blubbered eyes bewrayde some secret greefe,
Besprent with teares, with sighes and sobbes he sayd,
You martiall wights abandone all releefe,
Come wayle with me, whose losse is not alone,
When you your selues haue greatest cause to mone.

For *Drurie* he, the choyse of all your trayne,
Your greatest guyde, and lampe of clearest light,
The only man *Bellona* did retayne,
Her Champyon chefe, and made syr *Mars* his knight.
Euen he is now bereaued of his breath,
Tis you, tis you, may most lament his death.

Then might I see, a warlik crew appeare,
Came marching on with weapons traylde on ground,
Their outward show bewrayde their inward cheare,
Their droms and tromps did yeeld a dolefull sound,
They marched thus in sad and solemne sort,
As men amasde to heare this late *Report*.

And in the midst of this their heauy muse,
I might perceiue in sight a worthy Dame,
Who by her speech and tenure of her newes,
I knew her well, and saw twas Lady *Fame*.
With Tromp in hand, and thus me thought she sed,
You worthy wights, your *Drurie* is not dead.

He liueth he, amongst the blessed route,
Whose noble actes hath purchaste endlesse fame:
Whylste world doth last, no time shall weare him out,
Nor death for all his spight abridge his name,
But *Drurie* still for euer shall remayne,
His Fame shall liue, in *Flaunders*, *Fraunce*, and *Spayne*.

The *Germanes* eke, *Italyans*, and the rest,
Can well discourse of *Druries* deedes at large,
With whome he serude, a Champyon ready prest,
At all assaultes, the formost to giue charge,
In many a fraye, himselfe he did aduaunce,
Tweene *Charles* of *Rome*, and *Henrie* King of *Fraunce*.

In vayne to vaunt, the credite he attaynde,
In natiue soyle, where he was knowne so well,
And *Brute* hath blowne, what glory he hath gaynde,
In Scotish Land, where they themselues can tell,
In *Edenbrough* he wan there Mayden tower,
By fyrst assault, perforce the scotishe power.

But *Ireland* thou, thou thrise accursed soyle,
Thy luck is losse, thy fortune still withstoode,
What mischiefe more, to worke thy greater spoyle,
Then losse of him that ment thee greatest good,
Yet canst thou say, syr *Druries* noble name,
In *Ireland* still shall bide in lasting fame.

Wherefore you worthy wightes, leaue of to wayle,
Your *Drury* liues, his fame for aye shall last,
His vertues byde, though wretched lyfe do fayle,
And taking then her Tromp, she blewe a blast,
Which sounded more his prayse, then I can write,
Or with my tongue expresse in order right.

Then might I heare the Souldyers giue a shoute,
The sounde whereof, redounded in the skie,
Great ioy was made amongst the armed route,
With streined throtes then all at once they cry,
He liues, he liues, our *Drurie* is not deed,
His vertues rare, by Fame shall still be spread.

In order then, themselues they did retire,
Their weapons vaunst, with Ensignes braue displayde,
What would you more? *Report* is made a lyer,
Syr *Drurie* liues, sufficeth what is sayde.
What though his Corpes entombed be in clay,
His vertues shyne, that neuer shall decay.

Viuit post funæra virtus.

By Barnabe Ritche. Gent.

ADDITIONAL POEMS

FROM

THE PARADISE OF DAINTY DEVICES

1585

[121.] *Golden precepts.*

PErhaps you think me bolde that dare presume to teache,
As one ẏ runns beyond his race, & rowes beyond his reach,
Sometime the blinde doe go, where perfect sights doe fall,
The simple may sometimes instruct, the wisest heads of al.

If needefull notes I giue, that vnto vertue tend,
Me thinkes you should of right, vouchsafe your listning eares to lend:
A Whetstone cannot cut, yet sharpes it well we see,
And I though blunt, may whet your skils, if you attentife bee.

First these among the rest, I wish you warely heede,
That God be seru'd, your prince obayed, & freends releeu'd at neede:
Then looke to honest thrift, both what and how to haue,
At night examine so the day, that bed be thought a graue.

Seeke not for others goods, be iust in worde and deede,
For got with shiftes, are spent with shame, beleeue this as thy creede
Boste not of Natures giftes, nor yet of parents name,
For Vertue is the onely meane, to winne a worthy fame.

Ere thou doest promise make, consider well the ende,
But promise past be sure thou keepe, both with thy foe and freende:
Threat not reuenge to much, it shewes a crauens kinde,
But to preuaile, and then forgiue, declares a noble minde.

Forget no freendships debt, wish to requite at least,
For God and man, yea all the world, condems the vngratefull beast:
Beare not a frendly face, with hart of Iudas kisse,
It shewes, a base and vile conceipt, and not where valure is.

Flye from a faunyng flurt, and from a coggyng mate,
Their loues breedes losse, their prayse reproch, their frēdship breeds but hate,
Seeke not to loose by wiles, that law and duetie bindes,
They be but helpes of Banckrupts heads, and not of honest myndes.

The motions of the flesh, and Collers heate restraine,
For heapes of harmes do dayly hap, where lust or rage doth raigne:
In diet, deede and wordes, a modest meane is best,
Inough sufficeth for a feast, but riot findes no rest.

And so to make an end, let this be borne away:
That vertue alwayes be thy guide, so shalt thou neuer stray.

FINIS.

[122.] ¶*In prayse of the Snayle.*

THe deepe turmoyled wight, that liues deuoyde of ease,
Whose wayward wittes are often found, more wauering then the seas:
Seekes sweete repose abroad, and takes delight to rome,
Where reason leaues the Snayle for rule, to keepe a quiet home.

Leape not before thou looke, lest harme thy hope assayle,
Hast hauocke makes in hurtfull wise, wherfore be slow as Sayle:
Refrayne from rash attempt, let take heede be thy skill,
Let wisedome bridle brainsicke wit, and leasure worke thy will.

Dame reason biddes I say, in thynges of doubt be slacke,
Lest rashnesse purchase vs the wrong, that wisedome wills vs lacke:
By rashnesse diuers haue bene deadly ouercome,
By kindly creepyng on like Snayle, duke *Fabe* his fame hath wonne.

Though some as swift as haukes, can stoope to euery stale,
Yet I refuse such sodayne flight, and will seeme slow as Snayle:
Wherefore my prety Snaile, be still and lappe thee warme,
Saue enuies frets mauger their fumes, thers few shall do thee harme.

Because in some respect, thou holdes me to be wise,
I place thee for a Presedent, and signe before mine eyes:
Was neuer any yet, that harme in thee could find,
Or dare auow that euer Snaile, wrought hurt to humaine kinde.

I know dame Phisicke doth, thy friendly helpe implore;
And crau's the salue from thee ensues, to cure the crased sore:
Sith Phisicke then alowes, the vertues in degree,
In spight of spight I weare thee still, that well contenteth me.

FINIS.

[123.] ¶*A young Gentleman willing to trauell into forreygne partes being intreated to staie in England: Wrote as followeth.*

WHo seekes the way to winne renowne,
Or flieth with winges of high desire
Who seekes to weare the Lawrell crowne,
Or hath the minde that would aspire,
Let him his natiue soyle eschewe
Let him goe range and seeke anewe.

Eche hautie heart is well contente,
With euery chaunce that shall betide,
No happe can hinder his intent.
He steadfast standes though Fortune slide:
The Sunne saith he doth shine aswell
Abroad as earst where I did dwell.

In chaunge of streames each fish can liue,
Eache fowle content with euery ayre:
The noble minde eache where can thriue,
And not be drownd in deepe dispayre:
Wherefore I iudge all landes alike
To hautie heartes that Fortune seeke.

To tosse the Seas some thinkes a toyle,
Some thinke it straunge abroad to rome,
Some thinke it griefe to leaue their soyle
Their parentes, kinsfolkes, and their home.
Thinke so who list, I like it not,
I must abroad to trye my Lott.

Who lust at home at carte to drudge
And carcke and care for worldly trashe:
with buckled shooe let him goe trudge,
In stead of launce a whip to swash.
A minde thats base himselfe will showe,
A carrion sweete to feede a Crowe,

If *Iason* of that minde had binne,
Or wandring Prince that came from *Greece*
The golden fleece had binne to winne,
And Pryams Troy had byn in blisse,
Though dead in deedes and clad in clay,
Their woorthie Fame will nere decay.

The worthies nyne that weare of mightes,
By trauaile wanne immortall prayse:
If they had liued like Carpet knightes,
(Consuming ydely) all their dayes,
Their prayses had with them bene dead,
where now abroad their Fame is spread.

FINIS.

[124.] *A wittie and pleasaunt consaite.*

WHat fonde delight, what fancies straunge,
what deepe despight, what sodaine chaunge:
what stilling strife, what deepe debates,
Doe runne so rife, in doltishe pates.

Who vewes and sees, and takes no heede,
who seekes degrees, and can not speede:
In steade of ioyes, shall reape such woes,
As breed annoyes, twixt frendes and foes.

who wiuing wantes, and liues alone,
when thriuing scantes, is ouerthrowne:
who seekes to thriue, and finde no way,
May chaunce to striue, and marre the play.

who spendes his wealth, and winnes the wine,
Doth hurt himselfe, and helpe the swine:
who hauntes the house, where Ale is sold,
May gayne a croust, and lose his gold.

Who spinnes by spight, and reeles to woe,
Who takes delight, in roling so:
Doth dubbe himselfe, a drousie hedde,
And bringes drousie foole to bedde.

Who rides a loft, and cannot rule,
Who sitts not soft, and keepes his stoole:
Doth both content, themselues with wrong,
But wisemen will not vse it long.

FINIS. I. H.

[125.] *Maister Edwardes his I may not.*

IN may by kinde Dame Nature wills, all earthly wights to sing,
In may the new and coupled foules, may ioy the liuely spring:
In May the Nightingall, her notes doth warble on the spray,
In May the birdes their mossie neastes, doe timber as they may.
In May the swift and turning Hare, her bagged belly slakes,
In May the little sucking VVatts, doe plaie with tender Flaxe:
All creatures may, in Maie be glad, no may can me remoue,
I sorrow in May, since I may not, in May obtaine my loue.

The stately Harte in Maye doth mue, his olde and palmed beames,
His state renewes in May, he leapes to view *Appollos* streames:
In Maie, the Bucke his horned toppes, doth hang vpon the pale,
In Maie, he seekes the pastures greene, in ranging euery Dale.
In Maie, the vgley speckled Snake, doth cast her lothsome skinne,
In Maie, the better that he may increase his scaley skinne:
All thinges in May I see, they may reioyce like Turtle doue,
I sorrow in Maie since I may not, in May obtayne my loue.

Now may I mourne in fruitfull Maie, who may or can redresse,
My maie is sorrow since she that may, with holdes my maie a freshe:
Thus I must may in pleasaunt Maie, till I may May at will,
with her in Maie, whose may my life, now may both saue and spill.

Contented heartes that haue your hope, in May you may at large,
Vnfolde your ioyes, expell your cares, and baske in pleasure barge:
Saue I alone in Maie, that may lament for my behoue,
I mourne in Maie, till that I may, in May obtaine my loue.

FINIS.

[126.] *The complaint of a sorrowfull Soule.*

O Soueraigne salue of sinne, who doest my soule behold,
That seekes her selfe from tangling faultes, by striuing to vnfold,
What plea shall I put in, when thou doest Summons send:
To iudge the people of the yearth, and giue the world and end,
VVhen euery deede and worde, yea euery secret thought,
In open vewe of all the worlde, shall vnto light be brought.

So many Iudges shall against me sentence giue,
As by example of good woorkes, hath taught how I should liue:
So many pleaders shall confound my carefull case,
As haue in one by sound aduise, sought to engraft by grace.
So manie shall that time, against me witnesse beare,
As haue beheld my fruitlesse faith, and saw my sinnes appeare.

Whereon whils I do muse, in my amazed minde,
Froward thoughts, familiar foes, most fiers assaults I finde:
My conscience to my face, doth flatlie me accuse,
My secret thoughts within my eares, do whisper still these newes.
Mine auarice and briberie, my pride doth bragge me downe,
Mine enuie frets me like a file, at other folks renowne.

Concupiscence inflames, and lusts my limmes infect,
My meat doth burthen, and my drinke my weaknesse doth detect:
My slanders rend my fame, ambition doth supplant,
My greedinesse is not content, but makes me waile for want.
My mirth but flatterie is, my sorrowes are vnkinde,
Sith pleasures runne me out of breath, and greefs suppresse my minde.

Behold my God, whose might, maie me a freeman make,
These were my freends, whose counsels curst, I was content to take:
These were the lawlesse Lords, whom I did serue alwaie,
These were the maisters whose madde hests, I did too much obaie
Behold my faults most foule, which follie first did frame,
In louing them I should haue loathed, whens breedeth all my bane.

Now I do looke aloft, with bashful blushing face,
On glorie thine, that so I maie discerne my owne disgrace
My manie spots and great, must needs encrease my gilt,
Vnlesse thou wash them in the bloud, that for my sake was spilt.
Forgiue the faults O Lord, which I from hart repent,
And graunt my daies to come, maie be in thy sweet seruice spent.

FINIS. I. Heiwood.

[127.] ¶*Alluding his state to the prodigall child.*

THe wandring youth, whose race so rashlie runne,
Hath left behinde, to his eternall shame:
The thriftlesse title of the Prodigall sonne,
To quench, remembraunce of his other name.
Mate now deuide, the burthen of his blame,
with me, whom wretchlesse thoughtes entised still:
To tread the trackt of his vnruly will.

He tooke his childes part, at his fathers handes,
Of Gods free grace, his giftes I did receiue:
He traueld farre, in many forraigne landes,
My restlesse minde, would neuer raging leaue.
False queanes did him, of all his coine bereaue,
Fonde fancies stuft my braine with such abuse:
That no good hap could seeke to any vse.

They draue him out, when all his pense was spent.
My lustes left me, when strength with age was worne,
He was full fayne, a Fermars hoggs to tent:
My life misled, did reape deserued scorne,
Through hunger huge, wherewith his trips were torne,
He wisht for swaddes, euen so wisht I most vayne,
In fruitlesse pleasure, fondly to remayne.

Now to come home with him, and pardon pray,
My God I say, against the heauens and thee,
I am not worthy, that my lippes should say:
Behold thy handie worke, and pitie me,
Of mercy yet my soule, from faultes set free.
To serue thee here, till thou appoint the time,
Through Christ, vnto thy blessed ioyes to climbe.

FINIS. I. Heiwood.

MISPRINTS AND VARIANT READINGS

MISPRINTS AND VARIANT READINGS

THE following list includes all the unmistakable misprints in the texts of the nine Elizabethan editions of the *Paradise*, and all the important variations in the other Elizabethan editions from the specific text that I have reprinted, especially all the actual variants in diction. Mere orthographical differences, unless they are unusual, are not noticed. The list does not, of course, enumerate cases of broken type (unless they obscure the identity of the words in question) or, except in a very few cases, of words and letters that have slipped out of alignment; nor does it note any but the more obvious of those doubtful cases in which a letter may appear to be *c* or *u* but is more probably a broken *e* or an inverted *n*. No notice is taken of differences in punctuation (to do this would require a whole volume), or in capitalization except in some special cases, or in typography and faulty spacing (unless, as at 36.14, a change of type implies a misprint, or unless, as at 5.24 or 6.25, a hiatus is unmistakable). Nor is any attempt made (except in the case of duplicate numbers, as at 21.2, 25.17, 26.25, etc., and in a few cases of obvious misprints, like those at 17.22, 28.7, 41.2, 55.27, 105.7, 21) to readjust the defective numbering of poems or folios, or the faulty signature-lettering, in any edition except the first.

The nine editions are represented by italic capital letters, as follows:

A = 1576	*D* = 1585	*G* = 1596 (undated)
B = 1578	*E* = 1590 (?)	*H* = 1600
C = 1580	*F* = 1596	*I* = 1606

According to the system I have used, a reading followed by *C* occurs in the edition of 1580 only; if followed by *B*+ or *B*−*I*, it occurs in all the editions from 1578 to 1606; if followed by *BCF* + or *BCF*−*I*, it occurs in the editions of 1578, 1580, and those from 1596 to 1606. Thus, an entry like "renuing is *B*+" indicates that *renuing is* is the reading, but not necessarily the exact spelling, in all the editions from 1578 to 1606 inclusive.

The editor regrets the length to which the collations of the nine texts have run. He trusts, however, that students and scholars will recognize the necessity and the value of these collations, and will understand that making them was a duty, not a pleasure.

The figures refer to pages and lines of the text.

3. 1 To] ¶To *DE:* 1–4.23 *om. F*+
6 J] I *throughout B–E (but there the text is in roman type, not italic)*
8 small volume] smale volnme *B*
10 Gentlemen] Gentlmen *E:* 10–11 togeather] togither *C*, together *DE*
11 trauell] trauaile *C–E*
13 since] sine *B*
15 my] of my *DE*

3. 17 them] this *E*
22 accounted] accompted *B*, accoumpted *DE*

4. 2 ditties] dittis *B*
3 aswell] as wel *B–E*
6 .5.] fiue *DE*
7 instrument] Instruements *E*
8 consydering] considring *E:* purposed] porposed *B*
10 it] *Om. C–E*
11 aucthours] authours *BCE:* sake] sakes *DE*
21 L.] Lordshyp *DE*
22 good] *Om. E*
23 D] Dizle *DE*

5. 1 [1.] *No number in A+*
2 Saint] S. *B+:* Barnards] Bernardes *D*, Barnardes *FG (*s *upside down)*
4 wayfaring] wauering *F+*
5–6, 13–14, etc. *D–G indent the italic lines throughout the piece, but E–G depart from the rule at* 5.5–6 *and* 6.26–27: 5 cuius, prosperitas] *Last* s *in each upside down in FG:* ?] *Upside down in A*
6 eius] s *upside down in FG:* vasa] vasi *H+:* figuli] figula *B:* quæ] que *BC*
7 WHY] AHy *E*
10 perpetuall to remayne] perpetuall to r e maine *F*, perpet uall to rem aine *G*
11 as] as an *F+:* earthen] yearthen *D*
12 fortunes] Fortune *EFG*
13 litteris] s *upside down in FG:* glacie] glacia *B:* vanæ fallaciæ] venæ fallabiæ *B*, vanæ fallasiæ *C*
14 Fallax] Fallsax *B:* premijs] præmiis *D*, præmijs *E–H*, præmjis *I:* virtutis] vertutis *B:* quæ] que *BC:* nunquam] nunqnam *I:* fiduciæ] fiducie *C*
18 fond] fo d *E:* falsheds] falshed *B*, falshoodes *E+*
20 neuer] *Om. D–G*
21 Magis] s *upside down in FG*
22 Falsis] Falcis *E–H:* insanijs, voluptatibus] *Last* s *in each upside down in FG:* falsis quoquæ] falsisque *DI*, falisque *E–H*
23 trifeling] trifely *D:* truethles] truthles *B–DF+*
24 highest] high est *I*
26 conceytes] conceiptes *D*
27 to artes] toartes *F*

6. 2 Dic vbi] Dick vbi *E*, Dicvbi *I:* Salomon] *S*alomon *D*, Salomon *I (both capitals are upside down):* Samson] Sampson *B+*
3 pulcher] purcher *C:* Absolon] Absoln *B*
4 the ²] that *HI*
5 Whose] Who *C*
6 Samson] Sampson *B+:* *Line closely trimmed in G*
7 *Line entirely cut off in G:* cause] case *I*
10 diues, totus] s *upside down in FG:* splendidus] splendibus *E–H*
11 clarus] clarius *D*, claris *E–H:* Aristoteles] Aristotelus *D*, Aristotilus *E–H*
12 Cæsar] Cæsar *A:* renowmed] renowned *C+*
15 chest] Chist *E+*
18 vermium] verminum *FG:* extolleris] s *upside down in FG*
19 cras] s *upside down in FG:* diu poteris] *One word in D*
21 sunne] soone *CD*
24 dost] doest *C–GI*

6. 25 Most] M ost *I:* in] to *BC*
26 *This line and the next should be indented in EG:* Quam] Quem *D–H*
27 Quæ] Que *B:* præmia] primia *E–H:* ad] at *C:* deuia] eruia *B*
28 renowme] renowne *B+*
29 shadowe] shadowes *D+:* thinne] thine *BC*
7. 2 endles] enlesse *B*
4 fæni] fœni *D+*
5 leue] leui *D+:* hominem] hominum *B+*
8 dooth] doeth *FG:* or] a *E+*
11 is [1]] is the *I*
13 [2.] *No number in A,* 5.*B+:* I] J *C*
16 perfect] pefect *C*
17 theffect] the effect *I*
21 foe] foes *I*
23 lose] loose *I*
25 leaue] liue *D+*
26 yf you] ifyou *FG*
28 Finis] FJNJS *C,* FINIS *H*
8. 1 [3.] *No number in A,* 3.*B+:* faythfull] *Om. E+*
2 *Poem arranged as seven long lines in B+*
5 Not] uot *C:* sclender] slender *C+*
10 Not] No *BC:* prisons] prisoners *B+*
16 Finis,] FINIS. M. *BCE+,* FINI*S.* M. *D*
17 [4.] *No number in A,* 12. *B+:* some] *Om. E+*
18 *First line of each stanza indented in D, first and the last two lines in E+*
20 tast] tost *B*
22 Were] Where *D+*
23 Who would] Would *I*
24 vnsure] vsurie *HI*
25 flee] flit *BC,* flie *D+*
31 matcht] match *BC*
36 Finis] FJNJS *C:* E. S.] W. R. *BC,* W. Hunis *D–GI,* W. *H*unnis *H*
9. 1 Fol.] *This is the only instance of its use in A; in B it is repeated with each folio number to* Fol. 25, *in C throughout*
2 [5.] 1. *A+:* are] are but *D+*
3 *First line of each stanza indented in D:* the [2]] t he *I*
5 blowen] blowne *C+:* that] th t *F, and in G the* a *is very faint:* *Lines 5–6 are indented in A only*
6 to] to co *I:* past] p st *F, and in G the* a *is very faint*
7 Haue] H ue *F (*a *blurred out):* vayne] vaino *FG*
8 maist] maiest *B,* shalt *C+*
9 thy [1]] the *E+*
10 aske] as ke *AB*
11 earth] yearth *D*
12 also from] alsofrom *I*
16 Shall] *S*hall *I*
18 mowen] mowne *HI:* neuer more] euermore *F+*
19 FINIS] FJNJS *C,* FINIS *FG:* D. S.] D. ›S· *A,* W. Hunis *B+*
20 [6.] 2. *A,* 6.*B+:* Edwardes] s *upside down in E*
21 *Stanzas indented in D–G*
22 bird streines] birdstrains *I*
23 thorne] throne *B*
24 which] with *E+*

9. 27 *probably should not be indented in H*
28 limme] linnne *A*
31 whyles] whilst *HI*
10. 6 whyles] while *E+*
8 Finis] FINIS. M. Edwardes *BD+*, FJNJS. M. Edwardes *C*
9 [7.] 3. *A*, 7. *B+*: make] makes *EFG:* fooles] s *upside down in I*
10 *Stanzas indented in D+*: In] Jn *BC*
11 sclender] slender *D+*
12 askt] aske *C*, asked *D+*: knee] knnee *B*
15 to] t' *E+*
17 qd] quoth *D–G*, *q̄* *H*, quod *I*
18 counsell] connsell *A*
21 shoes] shewes *B+*
22 desire] desires *HI*
23 shiuering] sheuering *BC*
26 doeth] doth *B+*
27 againe, alway] alway againe *F+*: geues] giue *C+*
28 luckie] lnckie *A*
29 whyle] whiles *E+*: hotte] whot *E*, hote *HI*
30 in steade] insteede *FGH*
31 gapes] gape *B (corrected by an old hand to* gapes*)*
33 makes] make *C+*
11. 2 *should be indented in HI*
3 growē] grown *C+*
4 trueth] truth *B–DI*
5 with] mith *I*
6 no ᵗ] not *B+*
7 Falkeners] Falkners *D+*
8 *should not be indented in FG:* woordes be] wodrdes be *A*, wordesbe *F:* wrought] wrough *A*
9 experience] exparience *H*
10 M.] FINIS. M· *B*, FJNJS M. *C*, FINIS M. *D–H*, Finis. M. *I (*s *upside down)*
11 [8.] 4. *A*, 8. *B–H, no number in I:* In] Jn *C*, n *I*
12 *First, fifth, and sixth lines of each stanza indented in E+*
13 teares] tcares *G apparently:* head in] headin *I*
15 why] ʍhy *I*
18 betost] be tost *FG:* *In D the indention is wrong either here or at line* 24
19 flee] flye *C+*
23 by] my *B+*
24 *should be indented in E–H*
27 betost] be tost *E–H*
12. 2 [9.] 5. *A*, 9. *B+*: For] Eor *DFG*
4 In] Jn *C:* Christes] *Last* s *upside down in I*
5 *D indents the first line in each stanza, E+ indent the first line and the last two*
7 day] da y *I*
9 mans] man *B*
10 saintes] sainctes *CDE*
16 wandred] wandered *E*
21 aucthour] authour *B+*: all] *Om. D+*
22 *should be indented in FG*
23 glorious] *Om. HI*
29 Finis] s *upside down in I:* K] Kindlemarsh *B–G*

13. 1 5] *In B the figure should be* 4
2 [10.] 6. *A*, 10. *B+*: Easter] For Easter *B+*: day] dcy *B*
3 *Stanzas arranged as four long lines in B+, with paragraph indention in D; E+ do not divide into stanzas except by making a separate line of* this glorious day *in each case*
6 appesed] appesd *B+*
12 corse] corpes *E–G*, corps *HI*
17 needest] needst *I:* be] to be *D–G*
19 no] not *B*
20 the] th' *I*
21 vprysen yet] vprised it *D*, vpraised it *E+*
30 mayst] mayest *D–GI*
34 Finis] FINIS. qoth *BC*
14. 2 [11.] 7. *A*, 11. *B+*
3 ease] cease *F+*
4 thorough] through *B+*
9 pricking] pinching *D*, *om. E+*
13–14, 15–16, 20–21, 22–23 *each one line in B+*
15 Not] Nor *B+*: precious stone] precious stones *EHI*, precions stones *FG*
27 M. Kindlemarsh] F. K. *BCE+*, F. Kindlemarsh *D*
28 [12.] 8. *A*, 13. *B+*: shippe] Shippe *CD (and the* S *is also upside down)*
30 *Stanzas indented in D+*
31 trueth] truth *B–DFG*
15. 1 dayntie] daintyc *FG*
2 oft] ought *F+*
9 oft] ought *BCD*
10 eye] eyes *E+*
11 thy] thine *HI*
12 oft] ought *BCD*
13 tickle] tickling *I*
16 euer] neuer *FG (*n *scratched out with a pen in G)*
18 thy[2]] the *FGH*
23 wanton] wonton *FG*
27 wyll from] willfrom *E*
29 thee] the *BC*, thœ *H*
31 Of freendship] Offreendship *EFGI:* comes] come *EFG*
33 dooest] doost *E–H*
16. 2 or] ere *HI*
4 boy] body *D*
5 vngratefull] ingratefull *E+*
7 wagges with] waggeth with the *E+*
11 lose] loose *F+*
14 Finis] FJNJS *C:* Heywood] Haywood *H*
15 [13.] 9. *A*, 14. *B+*: stay] time *E+*
16 *D indents the first line of each stanza, E+ indent the first one and the last two:* If] Jf *BC:* Fortune] Fortune *A:* tickle] ticekle *G*
20 Fortunes] Fortunes *A*, Fortune *E+*: sly] flye *E+*: deseytes] deceipte *D*, deceit *E+*
21 you] thou *HI:* bide] abide *B+*
22 setled Rocke] setledrocke *I*
26 thinges] thinge *BC*
30 deceitfull] deceptfull *D*
31 Fortune] Vertue *B+*

16. 32 fast] ftast *E (or the* t *may be another* f*):* 32–33 *should be indented in E–G*
34 Finis] FJNJS *C*, FINIS *FG*
17. 1 dayntie] Daintyc *FG*
2 [14.] 10. *A*, 15. *B+:* Promise] *P*romise *FG*
3 *D indents the first line of each stanza, E+ indent the first one and the last two:* In] Jn *BC:* accompt] account *F+*
4 Among] Emong *DE*
8 oft] ought *B–E*
12 Aste] As to *B+*
15 O] Of *F+:* league] leagues *HI*
16 is] as *B+:* imployed] imployde *E+*
17 that[2]] what *HI:* wonne] doen *D*, doon *EFG*, done *HI*
18 destroyed] dostroyed *G*
19 slaunders] slaunderous *E+*
20 That] That alwayes *B+*
21 Finis] FJNJS *C:* R. Hill] R, *H*ill *H*
22 [15.] 11. *A*, 16. *B–D*, 19. *E+* (*the* 9, *which is evidently a* 6 *upside down, is corrected in ink to* 6 *in F*): woordes, deedes] s *upside down in AF; so in* deedes *in GH*
23 *D+ indent the first line of each stanza, and E+ the last two lines of the three full stanzas also*
26 turned] turnd *B+*
29 binde] blind *F+*
31 *should be indented in HI:* O faithlesse] Of faithlesse *E*, Oh faithlesse *FH*, Offaithlesse *G*, h faithlesse *I*
32 That] *The* T *is far out of line in I*
34 way] where *B+:* satisfye] satis-fie *H*
18. 2 hath not] hat hnot *I*
3 other hath not] hath not bind *B*, hath not bine *C+*
4 is] not *B+:* ought] oft *I*
6 of] off *E+*
16 lose] loose *E+*
19 [16.] 12. *A*, 17. *B+:* *First line of each stanza indented in D, first line and last two in E+*
20 delayed] dela yed *FG*
23 sowe] see *B+*
25 dooth] yoth *I:* seelly] selly *BC*, silly *D+*
26 rome] ronne *E*, runne *F+*
28 dooth] do *B–G*
29 of] to *FG:* the] *Om. BC*
30 in vayne] *Om. B+*
19. 2 *should be indented in I:* dogge] Doog *FG*
5 fled] fed *B+*
8 *should be indented in HI*
15 losse] holes *F+:* woonderous] wondrous *F+*
16 fetred] fettered *E+*
17 that] thac *A*
18 I] to *F+*
19 lose] loose *E+*
22 time] tune *C (or the* u *may be an undotted* i, *cf.* 20. 3*):* is] *Om. EFG*
23 vnpaid] vnpayed *B–H*
26 Finis] FJNJS *C*
27 [17.] 13. *A*, 18. *B+:* instabilitie] vnstabilitie *E+*

19. 28 *First line of each stanza indented in D, first line and last two in E+*
29 wandring] wauering *E+*
30 And] & *EFG:* markt] marke *DFHI*, make *EG*
20. 3 time] *Looks more like* tune *in C, for the dot over the* i *is indiscernible (cf.* 19.22)
5 And] nd *I*
6 repentant] repentance *E*
7 aske] as ke *AH*
8 daunted] dauuted *D*
9 ignorance] igno r aunce *D*
10 And] Ind *I*
12 trueth] truth *B–DHI*
13 *should be indented in E and followed by a space before the next stanza*
14 dydst] diddest *B–D*
15 in] in the *B+:* ´ ´ thy] the *E+:* didst] diddest *D*
16 wounding] woundiug *E*
20 by power, to lyfe] to life by power *E+*
21 of grace] *Om. B+:* restorest] restordst *F+:* to] to perfect *D+*
22 life] selfe *HI*
25 gilth] gilt *D–H*, guilt *I*
26 nowe since] nowsince *E*
32 Finis] FJNJ*S C*
21. 1 deuises] *Last* s *upside down in I*
2 [18.] 14. *A*, 19. *B+* (*in E+ it is the second* 19): is] in *I*
3 in] in in *E*
4 *D indents the first line of each stanza, E+ indent the first line of each and the last two lines of the second and third*
6 conseyte] conceipt *D–G*, conceit *HI*
8 blast] blaze *B+:* rolling] rouing *B+*
9 Serpent] serpents *B+*
13 deemed] deem'd *F+:* spring] spping *E*
15 meaning] meauing *H*
16 is to me] seemes to be *B+:* 16–17 *evidently should be indented in E+*
17 faithfully] falthfully *E*
22 false dissembling] falcee dissmbling *G*
25 lose] losse *B+*
27 plainenesse] plainesse *FGH*
33 foorth] out *B+*
22. 3 redoundeth] renoundeth *B*, redouneth *E:* vnto] to *E+*
5 conscience] consience *E*
6 bringes] bring *F+*
7 fruitelesse] frutilesse *E*
9 tryed freendes] tryall soone *B+*
11 alway] alwaies *E+*
12 Finis] FJNJS *C:* F. K.] *F.* K. *FG*
13 [19.] 15. *A*, 20. *B+* (*in D the number stands beside line* 14): aspire] aspiae *E*
14 aduaunced] adnanced *I*
15 *In B+ the first four lines of each stanza are arranged as two long lines; in E+ the title is printed as a single line*
16 richesse] riches *BCE+*
17 The] Nhe *E:* wealthy] earthy *I*
18 mainteyne] maintayue *B*
19 still,] *Perhaps* still. *in A:* 19–20 *are imperfectly indented in HI*
21 of franticke] offrantick *I*

22. 22 of] af *FG:* learning] learnıng *E*
23 trueth] truth *B–DHI*
26 is] it *C:* learninges] learning *B–G:* fruite] frnit *I*
28 and] and' *D*
31 weedes] weedees *A*
32 Of learnyng] Oflearning *FG*

23. 2, 4, 8, 10 *The first letters of each line are cut off in B:* 2, 4, 6 *The commas at ends of lines are badly blurred in A, but all three of them appear in B–D and the last two in E+*
3 souldiers in] souldionrs iu *C apparently*
6 skant] skaut *B apparently*
9 fraught your] fraughtyour *FG*
13 Learning] lea rning *E*
14 K] Kindlemarsh *D*
15 [20.] 16. *A*, 21. *B+* (*in D it is the first* 21): flitting] fleeting *E+*: fyndes] s *upside down in FG*
16 beareth] bearteh *C*
17 *In B+ the first four lines of each stanza are arranged as two long lines; in B the first few letters of every long line are cut off*
25 flees] flies *E+*: about] aboue *BC*
26 net] uet *B apparently*
28 deceiued] deceiude *I:* with] by *F+*: subtil] snbtil *A*
29 Ye] *Cut off in B;* Yea *C+*

24. 5 Trone] throne *E+*
11 [21.] 17. *A*, 22. *B+*: is] s *upside down in I:* vnto] to *E+*
12 *D indents the first line of each stanza, E+ indent the first line and the last two:* our] vur *I*
16 *should be indented in E*
19 pretendes] pertendes *BC*
21 brethren] bretheren *FG*
23 these] thesc *H (apparently, or possibly a broken* e*)*
24 of] in *D+*
33 man] mau *F*

25. 4 Of Freendship] Offriendship *I (and perhaps EF):* groweth] growes *BC*, commeth *E+*
10–15 *In B the first few letters in each line are cut off:* 10 man[1]] ɯan *A*
12 That] Th at *D:* such] with *G:* freendly] freeudly *E*
14 ioyne] ioy *E+*: me] thee *B+*
16 Finis] FJNJS *C*, FINIS *FG:* K] Kindlemarsh *D+*
17 [22.] 18. *A*, 23. *BC*, 21.[2] *D*, 31.[1] *E+*: Respise finem] Remember thy ende *B–E*, Rememper ende *FG*, Remember the ende *HI (the* r *is curiously defective in I)*
18 *In B+ the first four lines of each stanza are arranged as two long lines; in B the first few letters of every long line are cut off*
19 Or, his] *Om. EFG:* Cresvs] Cressus *E+* (*last* s *upside down in I*)
20 Hercules] *H*ercules *H*
25 The] that *DE*

26. 3 sitte] sltte *A apparently*
6 oft] ought *BC*
7 seeldome] sildome *H*
10 The] To *I:* thing] thinges *B+*
12 that] ye *E*, the *F+*
15 happy] hapyie *FG*

26. 23 ende exceedeth] endexceedeth *I*
24 Finis] FJNJS *C*
25 [23.] 19. *A*, 24. *B*+ (*in E*+ *it is the second* 24): *D*+ *print the title in one line:* He] *He H:* freend] frendes *E*+
26 effectes] Affectes *B*+
27 *B*+ *are arranged in stanzas of four long lines:* maist] mayest *D–G*
28 reason] reasou *A*
34 liues] liuea *E*

27. 2 Thy] The *E*
3 Thy head] the head *E*, th yhead *FG*
5 shewe thy] sho thy *E–H*, shothy *I*
6 thousand] M. *C*
9 The] thy *B–H* . . .
10 leue] loue *B*+: might] migh *H:* neuer] euer *B*+
11 Nor] or *B*+: to] might *B*+: runne] ruune *FG apparently:* from] in *B*+
12 Nor] Or *B*+
17 hartes] hart *E*+: bond] bonds *D:* *B*+ *have two additional stanzas signed* FINIS. Tho. Churchyard (*printed on p.* 100 *above*)
18 Finis] s *upside down in I*
19 [24.] 20. *A*, 25. *B–E*, 27. *F*+: *First line of each stanza indented in D; first, fifth, and sixth in E–H; fifth and sixth only in I*
20 lenght] length *B*+: touche] tonch *H:* the[2]] their *B*+
21 ỹ [2]] and *D*, & *E*+: battring] battering *FG*
22 stope] stoope *BE*+
26 doo] they *D*+
27 aloft] *Om. D*+
28 pursue] present *B*+: ỹe] that *D–G:* like] the *D*+
29 case] cause *EFG:* which] that *HI*
30 knowen] known *E*+
31 rine] riue *AI*
32 if my] ifmy *E:* turne] torne *B*+
33 had] hath *BC*, haue *D*+

28. 2 strikes] stricks *B:* should] must *HI*
3 fortunes] Fortuncs *H*
5 wracked] wrackhed *F*
6 Finis] FJNJS *C*, FINI*S* *FG:* Edwardes] Ewardes *B*, Edwardes *I* (s *upside down*)
7 [25.] 21. *A*, 26. *BCE*, 28. *DHI* (*in D it is the first* 28), 82 (*misprint for* 28) *FG:* you] thou *E*+
8 In] Jn *C*
9 whose] whose *D*
11 simple] *Obscure in I because of an undotted* i *and a broken* m: eare] care *E*+
12 is] in *E*+: pact] part *D*+: plainenesse] plainesse *FG*
13 stinging] stingiug *E*
14 Through] Throngh *FI*
15 beleeue] belie ue *I*
17 eche] cche *D apparently:* strangers] stiraungers *F*
19 dangerous] dangers *HI*
21 dayly] daly *FG:* a trap] atrap *G*
22 the] their *D*+
23 sleightes] slightes *BCFG*, flights *EH*, ftightes *I apparently*
24 To serue] Toserue *I*

28. 25 venime] venoume *D+*
26 should crie] shouldcrye *E*
28 Finis] FJNJS *C:* D. S.] D. *S. D*
29 [26.] 22. *A*, 27. *BCD*, 29. *E+:* complayneth] complayueth *B*
30 If] Jf *BC:* be] he *I*
32 be] is *BC*

29. 1 deuises] *Last* s *upside down in I*
2 sore[2]] full *D–G*, made *HI*
6 woord and deede was] words & deedes were *B+*
7 from] for *E+*
8 deserud] deserue *B+*
9 through[1]] by *E+:* through[2]] throgh *DH*
10 my[1]] me *I*
15 greefes] greefe *E+:* do] dooth *F+*
16 Finis] FJNJS *C*, INIS *E*
17 [27.] 23. *A*, 28. *BCD (in D it is the second* 28*)*, 30. *E+ (in E it is the first* 30*)*
18 wherein] whereiu *F:* finde] ifnde *F (with* if *upside down)*
22 I] to *D+*
23 louing] liuing *B+*
24 mishappes] mi shaps *I*
25 of hell] ofhell *FG*
27 Among] Amongst *E+*
28 pleasure] pleasures *HI*
29 cheefe] great *B+*
30 captiue] captaine *BF+*
31 to proue] t proı *I (what looks like an undotted* i *is clearly the first half of a broken* u*)*
34 seeged] siedged *I*
35 corse] coarse *E+:* it] my *E+*
36 carkes] crackes *D+*
37 hop] hope *B+:* or] of *D+:* breede] breake *D+*
38 Finis] FIN*I*S *B*, FJNJS *C:* F. M.] *In I half of the* M *is cut off:* He] *The* e *is badly blurred in A (see the Notes); in BCE the key-word is* 30. Hauing, *in F+ it is* 32. Hauing

30. 2 [28.] 24. *A*, 30. *B–E (in E it is the second* 30*)*, 32. *F+:* Hauing] *H*auing *H*
4 mishap] mis hap *C*
5 In] Jn *BC*
8 make] take *D+*
9 twentie] xx *I*
14 The] Then *B+:* thus] this *B+*
18 fret] feat *B+*
19 as] is *F+*
21 one] ene *A*
22 Among] Amongst *BCE+*, Emongst *D:* lookes] loke *D+:* sease] cease *I*
25 can not] cannot wel *B+*
27 were[2]] weare *E*
30 brought] bronght *I*
31 constant] constance *F+*
32 *should be indented in FG*
33 whele] wh eel *I*
34 raysde] raised *B+:* height] high *B+:* greater] *Om. E+*

31. 1 dayntie] daintyc *FG:* deuises] *Last* s *upside down in I*
2 my] by *B+*
4 *The printer's mark of indention shows plainly in I*
8 vertues] vertnes *A:* her] hers *F+*
11 [29.] 25. *A*, 31. *BCD*, 33. *E+:* the] the late *I:* Queenes] s *upside down in AFG*
13 *Stanzas indented in D–G*
15 light] life *D+*
16 by[2]] vy *H*
18 match] matcht *D+:* might] right *I*
21 weeries] weareth *F+*
24 which] that *B+*
25 loue] loues *F+* . . .
27 on] ou *C*
28 hartes] he rtes *F (only a broken line of the* a *is left)*
31 waide] wayed *D+:* state] st at *I*
33 Finis] FINIS *E* (S *upside down)*

32. 1 *In D this heading falls on the wrong (right-hand) page*
2 [30.] 26. *A*, 33. *BCD*, 35. *E+:* His] *H*is *H*
3 *Stanzas indented in D+:* Fraud . . . Fortune] Framd in the front of forlorne hope *B+*
4 to abide] tab ide *B*, tabide *CD*
5 lodge] lodgde *C*, lodg'd *D+:* lare] lake *C*, lore *F+*
6 delaide] delayed *D–G*
7 sprites] spirits *HI*
9 *The printer's mark of indention shows plainly in I*
10 and] aud *B*
13 found] feund *I (perhaps a broken* o*)*
14 this] the *D+:* ground] gronnd *FG*
15 *evidently should be indented in D:* sprites] sprits *BC*, spirits *HI:* heauen doo] heauēdo *I*
16 t̄y] the *B:* to wayle aye woont] aye woont to waile *C+:* woont] woȯut *A (possibly, but probably a bad* n*)*
17 doth] doo *E+*
18 sea soyle] seasoyle *E*
19 in] in the *D*
21 Finis] FJNJS *C*
22 [31.] 27. *A*, 34. *BCD*, 36. *E+:* Of Fortunes] Offortunes *E*
23 *Stanzas indented in D+:* passing] passiug *FG:* lose] loose *I*
24 seas] sea *I*
25 fishe] fiish *H*
26 Fortune loe] Fortunel oe *I:* bountie] bonntie *A*, bouutie *B*
27 common] connnon *AC*, commou *B:* case] cause *F+*
28 in[1]] to *B+*
30 casteth at] caste that *I*

33. 2 shee[2]] shec *A (or else a broken* e*)*
4 partiall] parciall *D*, particall *FG*
6 or[1]] of *F+:* men] me *E+*
7 I] I had *HI*
10 Finis] FJNJS *C*
11 [32.] 28. *A*, 36. *BCD*, 37. *E+:* Triumph] Triumpth *B:* greatest] greates *B:* do beare] dobeare *I*
12 Triumph] triumphs *E+*

33. 13 *Stanzas indented in D+*
14 small and] smalla nd *A:* vertue] vertues *D*
17 In] Iu *A*
19 aduauncd] aduaunced *C+*
23 haue] hane *A*
24 Cresus] Cressus *E+* (*in H the second* s *is so broken as to look almost like* l): we] he *B+*
26 his] the *I*
30 law doe] fauor *B+*
31 the] t he *I*
33 Is] *See the note on this line*

34. 2 accompted] accounted *HI:* Ceasars] Cæsers *B*, Cæsars *C–H*, Cesars *I*
3 vanquist] vanquest *D*, vanquisht *E+:* wrekefull] wreckfull *D+*
7 desires] desire *E+:* that,] *Comma doubtful in A*
8 soueraigne] soneraigne *FG*
9 A] An *C+:* heauenly] *In FG the second* e *is curiously broken*
10 vertue] vertu *E*
11 her] er *A*
12 shew then vnto] shining into *B–G*, shining vnto *HI*
13 shine] blaze *B+:* where] wherə *E:* shrined carkesse] shrinedc ark ass e *E*
14 Finis] FIN*IS B*, FJNJS *C:* Edwardes] s *upside down in I*
15 [33.] 29 *A*, 36. *B*, 37. *CD*, 38. *E+:* *Stanzas indented in D+*
16 will be] be *E*, wouldbe *I:* accompted] accounted *F+*
23 wisedome] wisedeme *H*
24 counted] compted *DE*
26 aduaunce] aduauce *E*
28 sower] sowre *I*
31 dissolueth] dissalueth *C:* masse] mosse *E+*

35. 2 *should be indented in FG*
5 That euery] that eurey *E*
7 represse] expresse *E:* presuming] prcsuming *H apparently:* will] wlll *F*
10 rules] rule *HI:* true] trne *B*
12 art] ar *C (the* t *is blurred out)*
14 Finis] FJNJS *C*, FINI*S I*
15 [34.] 30 *A*, 38. *BCD*, 39. *E+:* *First line of each stanza indented in D; first, fifth, and sixth lines in E+*
17 to] *Om. BC*
20 daily] dalye *FG*
22 sucke] soke *B+*
23 cancred] cankered *I:* doth] *Blurred out in E*
24 can resting] canresting *D*
26 there] theoe *E:* 26, 27 *should be indented in E–G*
27 doe] downe *B+*
28 *should be indented in DHI*
29 aluring] a luring *D+*

36. 2 worldly] worldy *B*
7 And] Aud *A:* although it] atthough it *A*, althongh he *B*
9 purge] pure *E+*
11 to[1]] so *F+*
13 *should be indented in E:* shame] shun *B+*
14 Hill] *H*ill *H*
15 [35.] 31. *A*, 39. *BCD*, 40. *E+:* Sundrie men] *S*undry men *FG*, Sundrie-men *I:* affectes] s *upside down in AFGI*

36. 16 *Stanzas indented in D+:* In] Jn *BC:* pleasure] pleasnre *A*
17 after] after trauaile *B:* minde] minn *B*
18 training] trianing *FG*
19 shotte] shaft *F+:* aright] a right *D*
20, 21 *apparently should not be indented in E+*
22 Minerua] Minerna *B:* in] iu *A:* chattering] clattering *HI:* doth] *Broken beyond recognition in B:* aduaunce] a duaunce *B*
25 their] in their *E:* therof] *Blurred out in E*
26 ride or trie] trie or ryde *C+*
27 accompt] account *BCE+*, attempt *D*
28 sound] sounds *F+:* musickes] wusickes *A*
29 science] sentence *C+*
30 pleasure] pleesure *E*, pleasur e *I (a printer's lead fills the space between* e *and the next word):* releefe] celeefe *B (but probably a broken* r*)*
32 Musicke] Musicks *F+:* still] skill *HI*
33 That] The *I:* whirling] whliring *A:* Spheres] Speres *E*

37. 4 Then Fame] Thenfame *I:* one] an *B+:* case] cause *HI*
6 Minerua] Mimerua *E*
7 geues] giues a *B–EHI:* sweete] asweete *FG:* other] others *B+*
10 releeue] reuiue *B+*
11 solempne] solemne *DF+*, sollemne *E*
14 Finis] FJNJS *C*, Finis *I (*s *upside down):* Hill] *H*ill *H*
15 [36.] 32. *A;* 15–38.14 *in A only:* experience] cxperience *A*
33 in Venus] inV enus *A*

38. 2–14 *in A only*
15 [37.] 33 *A*, 41. *BCD*, 42. *E+:* sufferance] sufferaunee *FG*
17 we see] *Om. B+*
19 trie] ttie *D*
20 panges] pagnes *B*, pangues *CDE:* the[2]] my *F+*
21 where] wherc *FG*
27 would] wonld *G:* might] *Very bad* m *in E*
28 there] they *D+:* deeme] dee me *E*
29 trothe] truth *I*
31 needed not] needednot *E*
35 It were] If twere *FG:* deeme me] deememe *FG*
36 Finis] *Om. BC*, Finis *I (*s *upside down):* E. S.] L.Vaux *B+*
37 38. Being] 34 Being *A*

39. 2 [38.] 34 *A;* 2–17 *in A only*
3 in] iu *A*
18 [39.] 35 *A, no number in B;* 18–40.33 *in AB only:* *Stanzas indented in B*
19 Remember] Rememher *A*

40. 2–33 *in AB only:* 2 earth aright] yearth a right *B*
4 might] wight *B*
22 aright] a right *B*
27 dying] dyting *A*, diyng *B*
29 him] *In A an undotted* i *makes the word look like* hun *or* hnn
34 *B adds* FINIS. T. Marshall: 40. All] 36 All *A*

41. 1 27] *Should be* 33 *in A*
2 [40.] 39[1] *A (but the* 9 *is an inverted* 6*)*, 43. *B+ (in B it is the first* 43*):* thinges] s *upside down in FGI*
3 *D–H indent the first line in each group of long lines:* Although] Al though *BE*, Althongh *FG*

41. 5 Time] tune *F+* (*and in E an undotted* i *makes the word look something like* tune): againe] agaiue *A:* to] the *E+*
6 constraind] constrained *CD*
7 taste] cast *D*
9 *should be indented in H:* though] thou *D*, then *E+*: Zephirus] Zephitus *E apparently*, Zephirus *FG* (s *upside down*)
10 nature] neuer *C+*: branch] brance *I*
11 fruites] frnites *I:* buds] bushes *E+*
12 Somers] sonnners *C apparently*
14 wherein] werin *E*, whcrein *I*
15 *should not be indented in I*
16 Phebus] Phæbus *B–D*, Phœbus *EHI*, *P*hœbus *FG*
17 boistrous] boisterous *CD*
18 seely] siilly *FG*, silly *EHI:* heaues] haues *I*
22 doth] doe *D–G:* woe] woc *E apparently*
24 liuelest] liuely *D+*: bloud] bioud *A*
25 Experience] Erperience *C*
27 heauens] heauen *F+*
31 but a] but *DE*, all but *F+*
33 K] Kindlemarshe *D+*
34 [41.] 37 *A*, 44. *B+*: Gentle woman] Gentlewomam *E*
35 *Stanzas indented in D–G:* I] J *BC:* faire] f aire *FG*
36 siluer] sil uer *FG*
37 curtesie] curteous *D+*

42. 1 28] *Should be* 34 *in A*
2 the] in *D+*
4 Cousloppe] Couslippe *B–H*, Co wslip *I*
5 and] and the *I*
6 *should be indented in FG:* Woodbines] Woodbine *F+*
7 flowres] flowere *F+*
8 Among] Emong *D*, Emongst *E*, amongst *F+*: choose] chose *D:* those] these *E+*
9 resembling] re sembling *FG:* louers] lou ers *C*
11 skie] skys *E*
16 kisse] gesse *HI*
17 liuely] louely *B+*
18 And] Aud *A:* garland] garlond *B:* 18, 22 *should not be indented in HI*
20 my] ɯy *FG*
23 gyftes] gyftss *A*
24 sweete] *Om. D+*
26 Finis] FJNJS *C:* M.] F. *B+*
27 [42.] 38. *A*, 45. *B+*: *Stanzas indented in D+*
28 If] Jf *BC*
29 greefe] gr eefe *H*
31 mishap] mishhap *E:* are] is *B+*

43. 1 deuises] *Last* s *upside down in H:* 29] *Should be* 35 *in A*
2 hope] help *F+*
3 happes] happ *B+*
4 can prolong] canprolong *E:* assure] procure *B+*
5 *Entire line in A only*
14 is] as *E+*
16 hearbe] heaebe *E*
17 Ieme] Gent *F* (*or possibly* Gem *with the* m *broken*)

43. 18 Gallens] Galens *I*
21 Nor] For *C–G:* drugge of] druggeof *A*, drugges of *HI*
22 greefe] greefes *E+*
24 *should be indented in HI*
25 outfound] not found *E+*
27 And healeth] And helpeth *EHI*, Andhelpeth *FG:* scarre] scarce *BC*
28 festred] fostred *D+*
29 ordeynd] ordayned *B–E*
31 which] that *B+*
32 not] uot *D*
37 By] In *D+:* haute] hant *BC*, haunt *D+*

44. 1 26] *Should be* 36 *in A*
2 inward] inwards *B*
10 paines] panges *B+*
13 trauaile] trauel *I*
16 rest] nest *H*
18 gaine] gaiue *H*
20 paide] payed *DE:* goth] goeth *D–G*, goes *HI*
27 of deadly] ofdeadlye *FG*
31 hazard] hazaed *D:* loose] lose *D*
33 obtained] obtain'd *F+:* among] emong *D*
34 for] from *C+:* trauaile] trauell *I*
35 Doth] Death *D*
37 doth] doo *HI*

45. 1 31] *Should be* 37 *in A*
6 torment] torments *HI*
7 murthering] murdring *F+:* enforce] euforce *B:* owne decay] own-decay *B*
8 thou from] thoufrom *I:* my[1]] thy *F+*
10 lingering] lingring *B–E:* lothed] lothsome *B+*
12 whiles] whilest *I*
17 nothing] nothinss (ss *upside down*) *FG*
19 While] With *D+:* loe] lot *HI*
21 In] Is *D–G:* must] mnst *A*
22 If olde] Ifold *FG*
24 of future] offuture *FG*
25 truthlesse] trthlesse *B:* trust] *In C a broken* t *makes it look like* crust: times reward] time sreward I
27 forsweare] forswsre *F (apparently, or the* s *is a blurred* e*):* FINIS *added in E+*
28 [43.] 39[2] *A*, 47. *BCD (in B it is the first* 47*)*, 46. *E+:* *Stanzas indented in D+*
30 I] J *C*
31 for] or *B (but the* f *may simply be blurred out)*
32 ouerpressed] oppressed *B+*
36 doth me] dothme *E*

46. 1 32] *Should be* 38 *in A*
2 happe] hay *D*
9 the] thy *B+*
11 choose] chose *B–E*
12 fred] feed *C*, fedde *D+* (*in G the word is changed in ink to* fred)
15 are] is *B*
17 daungerd] dangered *E+*
19 or] the *B+*

46. 20 asked] as ked *B*
22 withhold] withold *I:* her] ther *BC*, their *D+*
23 Meanst] Meanest *E+*
24 carpet] carpel *B–GI*, Cupids *H*
25 Knowest] Kuowest *A*
26 headles] headlesse *B–E*, heedlesse *F+*
28 wyl] wilt *B+:* saint] faint *CD*
29 freend] friends *HI:* wholy] holie *FG*
30 drawes] drewes *B*, drewe *C+*
31 Twas] T'was *E*, T was *FG*
32 mayst] mayest *D+:* houndes] hounde *B+*
33 She] The *E+:* seely] silly *C+*

47. 1 33] *Should be* 39 *in A*
5 Best] But *F+*
7 Dost] Doest *D:* vnkindled] vnkinled *E*
13 Suppose] Suppuse *I*
15 loytring] loytering *E+:* dangers] daugers *B*, danger *HI*
17 the] thy *E+*
18 *should be indented in FG*
19 lesson] lessen *D+*
20 though] thongh *A:* lingering] lingring *F+*
24 gaynesay] gayuesay *A:* entend] pretend *E+*
28 Sest] Seest *C+*
29 lewe] few *D*
30 sightes] sighes *D+*
31 repaid] repayed *D–G*
32 my] wy *A:* nayd] nayed *D+*

48. 1 30] *Should be* 40 *in A*
2 paise] praise *C+:* waide] wayed *D+*
3 laide] layed *D–GI*
4–12 *in A only, but written in G in a contemporary hand*
13 Finis] FJNJS *C:* is] s *upside down in I*
14 [44.] 40 *A*, 47.[2] *B*, 49. *CD*, 48. *E+:* eris] s *upside down in I:* Felix] Fœlix *C+*
15 amissus] a missus *B*, amissas *C+*
16 *Stanzas indented in D+*
18 talentes] taleutes *D*
19 Both skin] Bothskin *D*
20 gather] rather *E+*
26 There] Their *E+:* and] aud *A:* profering] proffring *FGH*
31 them] from *F+:* haunt] hannt *A*
32 Finis] FJNJS *C*, FINI*S D*

49. 1 *For a sharp change in typography here, see the note on this line*
2 [45.] 41. *A*, 48. *BCD (in BC it is the first* 48*)*, 47. *E+:* *Stanzas indented in D+*
3 be thought] bethought *B*
6 truthe] trueth *BC*
8 stedfastly] stedfast doth *HI*
9 *should not be indented in HI:* altereth] altreth *E–H*
10 doeth] doth *BCI*, did *D–H*
14 *The entire line is omitted in HI*
15 *should be indented in EG*
16 moued] mooude *F+*

49. 17 lightly] likely *F+*
22 seale] scale *B (or perhaps a bad* e*)*, zeale *E+*
24 stanche] stauche *A–D*
25 exception] exceptiou *B*, rxception *C*
26 frende at nede] freends at last *F+*
31 wealth so] wealthso *F*

50. 3 ruste] trust *D+*
5 gainst] against *BCD*
7 botes] bootes *C+*
8 Finis] FJNJS *C*
9 [46.] 42. *A*, 49. *BE+*, 50. *CD:* iræ] ir æ *ACDI*, ire *E–H:* amoris] amor is *I:* redintigratia] redinti graciæ *B*, redinte gratio *CD*, redinte gratia *EH*, redintegratia *FG*, redintegratio *I*
10 *D indents the stanzas; E+ do not divide into stanzas, but after every six lines they indent two lines like a refrain:* In] Jn *C:* bedde] *Om. FG: Cf. the note on this line*
11 before] vefore *I*
12 sang] sung *F+:* sore[2]] sweete *B+*
13 rest] cease *B+*
15 She rocked it] Yet rocked she *HI:* vntill] til that *B+*
16 Then did] Thendid *E:* the] this *B+*
17, 25, 33 is the renuyng] renuing is *B+:* *In E+ each of these lines, with the one that precedes it, is indented like a refrain*
18 *should begin a new stanza in B–C*
24 and] aud *D*
26 ne[1]] nor *E+:* aright] a right *DF–H*
27 thei] the *B (in A the dot over the* i *is hardly discernible):* might.] *Period doubtful in A*
29 makes] make *B–H*
30 leaue] leaued *B–E*
31 liued] liu'd *F+:* tyme] time, and dayes *H*
33 faithfull] faith ful *B:* frendes] friende s *I*

51. 2 nor] ne *I*
4 but] bnt *A:* must] much *I*
6 works] worke *B+*
8 her[1]] *Om. BCD:* reherst] rehear st *I*
9, 17 is the renuyng] renuyng is *D+:* *In E+ these lines are indented like those at* 50.17, 25, 33
10 route] roote *I*
12 crouch] couche *D+*
13 armes] arme *B+*
14 aloufe] a loofe *DF–H*
17 of faithfull] offaithfull *I*
18 M.] FJNJS. M. *C*, FINIS. M. *BD+:* Edwardes] s *upside down in I*
19 [47.] 43. *AB (in B it is the second* 43*)*, 51.[1] *CD*, 50. *E+:* *B–D indent the first line of each stanza; E+ are not divided into stanzas, but after every four lines they indent two*
20 doeth] doth *BCF+*, doe *DE*
23 greffe] grefe *B+:* this] his *D+*
25 shorteneth] shortneth *B–EHI*
26 straunge] stronge *F+*
32 swetely] swiftly *I:* ronne] runue *D*
34 wights] nights *HI:* dawes] drawes *B+*

52. 7 alwaie] alwaies *F+*
10, 11 doeth] doth *B+*
13 what panges] *Om. B+*: thereby] thereby daily *HI*
14 daies] daie *D–G*, life *HI*
15 and] as *B+*
18 a] the *B+*: lake] lacke *D–H*
19 awaie] annoy *FHI*
24 disolued] dissolu'd *H*, dissolude *I*
25 armed] arm'd *D*, arm'd *E–H*, armd *I*: the[2]] that *HI*
26 founde] frund *G*
30 [48.] 44. *A*, 4. *B+*: *First line of each stanza indented in D, first line and last two in EG, last two in HI*
31 aunswereth] annswereth *B*, answered *E+*
32 sethyng] sighing *D+*: sower] sorow *B+* (*in D the first* o *looks more like* s)

53. 2 skaldyng] scolding *I*
4, 10, 16, 22 you doe] that you *B+*
7 harmth] harmeth *B–E*, harm'th *F+*
8 grounde] groand *F+*
9 eyne] eies *E+*: to[2]] with *E+*
11 white] w hite *I*
12 Where] When *D+*
13 pleasures] pleasure *E+*
14 walles . . . to] where the walles of wealth lye *BCD*, where . . . lay *E+*
15 is] s *upside down in A*
18 *should be indented in E:* doeth] will *B+*
19 There] Where *B+*: can] will *F+*
21 loe] loc *A (but perhaps a broken* e*)*, low *F+*: maie] maie, *A possibly*
25 me] m e *B*
27 doeth] dooth *B+*
30 line] lines *B+*
31 was] is *B+*
32 yongth] youth *B+*
33 well] weake *B+*

54. 4 sounde] *Blurred hopelessly in I*
5 Musicke] musikcue *FG*
6 Their] There *I*
10 to] that *E*, all *F+*
12 laied] layde *BCE+*: in] iu *I*
15 my] your *B+*: heeres] heares *B–D*, heires *E*, haires *F+*
16 L. V.] W. Hunis *BC*, W.H. *D–GI*, W.*H. H*
17 [49.] *Poem in A only; no title or number in A; title taken from the* Gorgeous Gallery, *p. 52*
19–29 *in A only*
22, 23 and] aud *A*
30 [50.] *Title and number not in A, but they are in B+, where the number is* 52; *D indents the stanzas; E+ do not divide into stanzas, but after every four lines they indent two*
31 lenger] linger *C+*
33 Sins] Since *C+*: fortune] fortuue *B:* 33, 35 doeth] doth *B+*: 33 giue] hiue *FG*
36 tourned] turnd *HI:* vpsidoune] vpsidowue *B*, vpside downe *E+*
37 A ffrende] Affrende *A*

55. 1 deuises] denises *H apparently:* 47] 47, *A apparently*

55. 2 A ffrende] Affrende *A*, A freende *B+*
3 And] Ind *I*
7 my] mine *HI*
9 yearth] earth *B+*
16 All] Ill *I*
20 is] as *EFG*
21 her] his *B+*
22 she] he *B+*: alwaie] al way *G*
26 S.] *Om. G (evidently slipped out); out of range in I*
27 [51.] 47. *A*, 53.*BE+*, 54.*C*, 45. (*probably a misprint for* 54.) *D:* Prudens] Prudence *D+*: Damacles] s *upside down in FG*
28 trone] throne *B+*
30 groūd] *In G half of* n *and all of* d *have slipped out*
31 and] And *B+*: flashy] flashly *C+*: lightnings] lightning *B–EHI*, lightening *FG:* on] and *E+*: turrets] tnrrets *C:* reboūd] roboūd *A*

56. 2 in their] int heir *B*
3 Scisily] Scisili *BC*, Scisile *D*, Scisilie *E–H*, Scicily *I*
4 singe] sings *BC*, sindge *E+*
5 this] thts *A*
10 brightnes] brightest *F+*
12 and] aud *B*
13 proferd] proffered *E+*
14 rest] life *E+*
17 would] could *B+*
18 his[2]] this *FG*
24 daintie] daiutie *A*
27 dounward point] downwardpoint *F:* had] *Om. D*
28 peised] poised *F+*
30 aboue] *In I the* o *is blurred curiously*
35 enough] euough *FG*

57. 4 Finis] FJNJS *C:* *B+ add* M. Edwardes
5 [52.] 48. *ABC (in BC it is the second* 48*)*, 55. *D*, 54. *E+*: Fortitude] *F*ortitude *FG:* Ægipt] Ægypt *BC*, Aegipt *E*, Egipt *FGH*, Egypt *I*
6 Eche one] Echone *G*
7 doeth] doth *B+*
9 Venus] V enus *D*
13 stout] st oute *H:* deede] deedes *HI*
14 sely] silly *C+*
17 stucke] stock *I:* consumyng fire] consumingfier *FG*
19 semed] seemde *F+*: might] migh *B*
21 haue hym] him haue *B+*
22 So] S *I:* a woorke] aworke *I*
23 destroied] destroide *I*
24 meanes] meaues *B*
26 finely] finly *E:* suche] with *E+*
27 might] migh t *I*
28 laied] layd *B–DHI*
30 lewres] louers *D+*: these] those *E+*: easly] easily *E+*
33 Venus] V enus *D:* euery chone] euerychone *D*, euerych one *I*
35 not] *Om. D*
36 pleasures] pleasure not *D*, pleasure *EFG:* toyes] ioyes *I (apparently, but perhaps a broken* t*)*

58. 2 sleight] flight *CFG*

58. 4 bote] botc *B (or perhaps a broken* e*)*, byt *C*, bit *D*+: cleane] cleaue *C*
6 and] aed *H*
8 neuermore] more *D*, euer more *EFG*
11 Finis] FJNJS *C:* *B*+ *add* M. Edwardes
12 [53.] 49. *A*, 58. *B*, 56. *CD*, 55. *E*+: Iustice] Justice *E:* Zaleuch] Zalench *B apparently*
13 rulers] rules *E*
14 boteth] booteth *C*+
15 cõteining] continyng *B:* egall] equall *C*+
16 lawes] Ladies *D*
17 *is indented in D*
20 was he] he was *F*+
21 ran] came *E*+: by] in *F*+
22 emong] among *CD*, amongst *E*+: there was] therewas *A*
23 outcries] ontcries *A*
26 muche] mnche *A*
30 ease] cease *F*+
32 shoote] shoute *C*+
33 quoth] ℔ *B:* fulfilde] fufilde *A*
35 his shalbe] hisshall be *E*

59. 1 deuises] *Last* s *upside down in A:* 45] *Should be* 51 *in A*
2 pronoũcde] pronounced *B*+: but] bnt *C:* doen] done *C*+
3 eyes] eyes' *FG:* mo] more *D*+: were] wəɹə *FG*, was *HI:* betwene] betweenə *FG:* the father] theɹ Fathr *FG*
5 now] lo *B*+: iuster] truster *HI*
6 his] hiȝ *FG:* belike] be like *E*+: $\overset{t}{y}$] the *B*+
8 caught] canght *FG*
10 Finis] *F*inis *A*, FJNJS *C*, EINIS *FG:* *B*+ *add* M. Edwardes (s *upside down in D*)
11 [54.] 50. *A*, 59. *B*, 57. *CD*, 56. *E*+: Spurina] S *upside down in D:* Ladies] s *upside down in ACDFGI*
12 *D clumsily indents the first of the two long lines in each case:* thee haue] theehaue *E*
15 deadly] deahly *FG*
16 beautie] beanty *I:* twere] tware *BCD*
17 seke] seekes *E*+: her[2]] their *HI*
24 doeth] doth *C*+
25 to[2]] do *F*+
28 hym] her *EFG*
29 She] So *CD:* happest] happiest *D*+: fauour] fanour *A*
30 knowyng] kno wing *D*, knowinȝ *FG*
31 hids] hides *B*+
32 rage] range *B*+
33 these] those *E*+: of their] oftheir *A*
35 skotch] scorcht *BCD*, schorsht *EFG*, scratcht *HI*

60. 4 be] he be *B*+
5 filthie] filihie *B*
6 $\overset{e}{y}$] that *D*
7 My] Me *B*+: him] him in *D*
10 ℔ F. M.] M. E. *BC*, M. Edwardes *D*+
11 [55.] 51. *A*, 60. *B*, 58. *CD*, 57. *E*+: bunche] braunche *D*+
12 the] that *E*+: godds haue] God hath *I:* are] or *B*+
13 Were as] Where as *B–E*, Whereas *FG*

60. 15 spriggs] springes *E+*: wailing] waylinp *FG*, willing *HI*
16 sone] some *DE*
19 lust,] *Comma very faint (and doubtful) in A:* nor] n *broken curiously in D*
21 vnfrendly] vefriendlie *FG*
22 Cowslopps] cowslippes *E+*: sometymes] sometime *D+*
23 Gelliflower] Gilliflower *E+*
26 flower] flowers *E+*: as] or *B+*
27 tickle] fickle *HI*
29 with our] withour *F*
30 those] chose *DE*, choose *F+*
31 of frēds] offreendes *F:* foes] foze *B*
33 authour] aucthour *BC:* saied] sayd *C+*: in flowers] inꝑowers *FG*
35 salue] saue *HI:* · · yeldeth] yeeideth *I (apparently, but probably the* i *is a broken* l*)*
36 Eche] *See the note on this line*

61. 1 deuises] *Last* s *upside down in I*
2 salue] saue *HI*
4 fly] flyes *B+*: the[1]] their *F+*
5 my] m y *FG*
6 that] the *E+*
8 there is] thereis *E:* yeilds] yeids *A:* doe] doeth *B*, doth *C+*
10 Eue] Ewe *D–G (the* e *is blurred out in F)*, Ewgh *HI:* serues] serue *CD*, sernes *FG*
11, 12, 16, 22, 27, 28, 32 doeth] doth *C+*: 11 some] soone *F apparently:* other] orther *FG*
14 wisht] wish *HI:* deserue] deserues *E+*
18 so is had in prise] is so sad in price *D+*
21 where withall] therewithall *F+*
22 lent] leane *D+*
24 And therefore] andtherefore *F*
25 When] W hen *G*
27 That B.] Tha tB. *A*
30 I[2]] and *BD+*, & *C*
31 sarue] serue *B+*
33 loth] l oath *I*
36 will, doeth] will, doth *CDF+*, willdooth *E*
37 B.] be *I:* about] aboue *CD*
39 Now] *Wrong type in A (see Notes)*

62. 2 [56.] 52. *A*, 61. *B; poem in AB only*
4 profoundly] prfoundly *B*
8 clerely] plainly *B*
12 wandreth] wandereth *B*
29 Where] *See the note on this line*

63. 2 [57.] 53. *A*, 62. *B*, 59. *CD*, 58. *E+*: In] Jn *C*
3 *In B–G the poem is arranged as two indented but unseparated stanzas of six lines each; in HI it is printed without break of any kind:* thē] ꝥ mind *B+*
5 minde] mynds *B+*: therfore] in store *B+*
7 release] relief *B+*: delights] delig hts *A*
8 sences] sences all *HI*
9 Musick] mesick *G:* praie] pray, the fish *HI:* the foule] ꝥfowl *I:* doeth] doth *C+*
11 saued] saude *B–D*
12 A] Oh *BCHI*, Of *D–G:* the sterne] starne *D:* doth] doeth *B*

63. 13 Musick] Of musick *BC*, Oh Musick *D+*
14 doest] dost *CEHI*, doth *FG:* wiseman] wise mā *F+*
15 M Edwards] *Om. B+*
16 [58.] *Poem in A only; title and number not in A but inserted for uniformity by the editor*
17–64.20 *in A only*

64. 2–20 *in A only; 2 should be indented in A*
7 conquere] conqnere *A*
21 [59.] 55. *A*, 64. *B*, 61. *CD*, 60. *E+:* *Stanzas not separated in E+*
22, 28, 31 doeth] doth *C+*
23 fleyng] fleing *C*, fliyng *D*, flying *E+:* he doeth] he doth *C*, doth he *D+*
24 Berrie rounde] berrier ound *E*, burrough round *HI*
27 start, and still] flie *B+*
28 *C should leave a stanza-space before this line:* to] no *D+:* pursue] pursure *C*
29 the] his *D+*
32 Thus then] Then thus *B+*
33 Since] Sith *E+:* trenched] trcāhed *A* (*or perhaps* treāhed), trencht *E+:* saith] saieth *E+*

65. 4 request] require *B+*
5 is in] in his *D+:* laied] laid *D+*
6 corse] course *E+*
7 behold] bebold *A*
8 W. H.] FINIS. M. Hunnis *B* (s *upside down*), FJNJS. M. Hunnis *C*, FINIS. W. Hunnis *D+*
9 [60.] *No number in A+:* Hope] ¶ Hope *D*, *H*ope *H*
10 *Stanzas indented but not separated in E+:* In] Jn *C:* hoiseth] hoisteth *E*, hoizeth *HI*
11 sickly] sicke *BCD*, sickest *E+:* 11, 19 doeth] doth *C+*
19 pain] paines *D+:* semes] seeme *E+*
20 In hope] hope *FG*, Hope *HI:* profe] propfe *B*
21 helth[2]] heath *C*
22 W. H.] FINIS. M. Hunnis *B*, FJNJS. M. Hunnis *C*, Finis. W. Hunnis *DEI*, FINIS. W, HUNNIS *FG*, FINIS. W. *H*unnis *H*
23–66.8 [61.] *in A only; no number in A*

66. 2–8 *in A only*
4 as myne] asmyne *A*
9 [62.] *No number in A+:* *Title arranged as one line in BCE+:* He] *He H*
11, 12, 13, 14, 17, 28 doeth] doth *C+*
13 blustryng] blustering *D+*
14 smell] smeell *FG:* cast] c ast *E*
15 declares] delares *H*
16 for] of *F+:* fight] sight *E+*
17 waies] iaws *B+*
18 liueth] lieth *E+*
19 thousands] thousauds *A*
20 forme] tyme *B+*
21 vowed] vowde *D+*
22 remaine] remaines *BC:* assignde] assingde *B*
29 Wherefore] Therefore *HI*
30 that] then *B–G*
32 doe] doth *E+*
33 M.] FINIS. M. *BD+*, FJNJS. M. *C*

66. 34 Shall] *See the note on this line*
67. 2 [63.] *No number in A+:* He] His *B*, ¶ He *D*, *He H*
3 *Stanzas indented but not separated in E+:* youth] ruth *B+:* shall fansie] shallfancie *FG:* forsake] fo rsake *A*
4 lose] loose *E+*
6 thoughts] thought *B+*
8 ayer] heire *B–EH*, haire *FG*
9 dragg] drauge *I*
10 yearth] earth *CE+*
12 for] of *B+:* ruth] truth *I:* cast] tast *C*
13 harte] heares *BCD*, haires *E+*
14 fickle] feeckle *FG*
17 your . . . purtende] and that to be pretende *B+*
18 let] and *F+:* enemie] enemies *D+:* defende] defeude *A*
19 striue] stroue *B*
20 *is indented in I:* to[1]] *Om. F+*
21 M. H.] M. Hunnis *BC*, W. Hunnis *D–H*, M. Huunis *I*
22 [64.] *No number in A+:* No] ¶ No *D*
23 *Stanzas indented but not separated in E+:* I] J *CFG:* would[2]] thinke *FG*, wish *HI*
25 bloudy] boldned *B+*
26 speache] speeches *D:* speaks] speake *EFG*
27 lurck] larke *I:* alowe] allowe *HI*
29 In frendly] Infriendly *I:* looks] looke *D+*
30 hath] haih *A:* receiued] receiude *B+*
68. 2 flatteries] flatterie *B+:* my] the *B+*
3 glittereth] glittreth *E*
4 finde] trye *B+*
5 hath] haue *D+:* Panters] Panter *BC*, Painters *HI*
6 sleight] slightes *E–H*, sleights *I*
8 dares] dare *B+*
9 sone] saue *B–E*, shall *F+*
11 Finis] FINIS *B (*S *upside down)*, FINI*S FG:* *BC add* M. Hunnis, *D+* W. Hunnis
12 [65.] *No number in A+:* *Title from B; so C+:* *E+ indent but do not separate the stanzas*
13, 16 doeth] doth *C+:* 13 trauell] trauaile *HI*
14 staie] *Rendered somewhat obscure in B by the undotted* i
17 make his] makehis *D*
19 Or] And *B+:* a] in *F+:* the] a *B+*
20 trauaileth a space] frameth hym self a pace *B–E*, . . . a place *F+*
21 *should be indented in HI*
22 An] And *C:* Flie] Flee *B–D*
23 there] htere *B:* to] t o *I*
24 corse] course *E+*
26 pains] paine *B+*
27 suche] *In A the* c *may be* s (*badly blurred*): trauell] trauaile *F+*
28 are] aer *A*
29 W.Hunis] FINIS. M. Hunnis *B*, FJNJS. M. Hunnis *C*, FINIS. W. Hunnis *D+*
30 [66.] *No number in A+:* *Title from B; so C+:* *E+ indent but do not separate the stanzas*
31 sleights] sleghts *B*, slights *C+*

68. 32 most] m oste *B:* doth] doeth *BC*
69. 2 Enforceth] Enforeceth *FG*
7 heads] heeds *I:* seeks] seeke *DE*
11 seeks] leeks *B (unless the* l *is a very defective* s*)*, seeke *I*
12 one] on *B+:* doe] we doe *B–E*
16 Finis] FJNJS *C*
17 [67.] *No number in A+:* *Title from B; so C+:* He] ¶ He *D*
18 *B+ indent the stanzas, but BE+ do not separate them:* painted speache] paintedspeech *I (and perhaps E)*
21 for] by *B–G:* great] good *E+:* vertues] vertuts *B*
22 since] sure *B–G*
23 disdaine] Disdaiue *B*
24 degree] degrre *B*
25 that] shall *E+:* shall] shew *HI*
27 begger borne] Beggerborne *B:* among] emong *B*
31 lightnyng] lightniug *FG*
70. 2 furies] furtes *E:* stopp] stay *B+*
4 Finis] FJNJS *C*, EINIS *FG:* M. B.] M. Hunnis *BC*, W. Hunnis *D+*
5–24 [68.] *in A only; no number in A*
25 [69.] *No number in A+:* to] his mishapp to *BC*, of his mishap to *D+*: replieth] complaineth *B+*
26 *No indention of stanzas in D; neither indention nor separation in E+, where the lines are aligned rather unevenly:* The] TThe *FG*
27 what] What *BCE+:* thinges] thing *E+:* shal] hath *B+:* nature] natures *B+*
28 My Ladie] My Loue *B–EH*, My loeu *FG*, Myloue *I*
29 truthe] trueth *E–G*
31 eche] ethe *A*
32 not this] this not *BCD*
71. 2 her] here *BCD:* reclaime] recliame *FG:* stope] stoope *B+*
9 Her] *Should be indented in A:* would] should *BCD*
10 Suche] Snch *H*
11, 12 saied] said *C+:* 11 doe] not *BCD*
12, 24 doeth] doth *C+*
13 is] in *EFG*
15 straunge] strannge *G*
16 no] uo *H*
23 gaine] gaines *E+*
24 betimes] *The undotted* i *suggests* betunes *in E:* thy] the *F+*
28 will[2]] wili *F:* 28–30 *torn out of G*
30 M.] FINIS. M. *B–FHI*
31–72.24 [70.] *in A only; no number in A:* *At this point B+ have a poem by the same title but by another author*
72. 2–24 *in A only*
3 ease] *A possibly* case
25 [71.] *No number in A–FHI:* 25–74.7 *torn out of G:* *E+ do not separate into stanzas, but after every four lines they indent two lines*
27 sometyme] sometune *C (but cf.* 71.24, *above)*
28 fade] vade *EFH*
29 ouer] *Om. BCD*
31 knoweth] knowes *EFHI*
34 But] *See the note on this line*
73. 2 light] sight *EFHI:* 2–32 *torn out of G*

73. 3 tonge] tougue *F*
6 *should be indented in EF:* serue] serues *EFHI*
7, 9, 18 doeth] doth *C–FHI*
10 you] ye *EFHI*
12 Finis] *F*inis *A:* Vaux] Vɐux *E*
13 [72.] *No number in A+:* ¶ The fruites] The fruite *B–FHI:* of fained] offained *F*
14 *Stanzas not separated in B; poem arranged as two six-line stanzas in C+:* In] Jn *C:* happ] happy *A:* Cirenes] Cirēs *BC*, Sirens *DEFHI*
16 noise] voice *B–FHI:* was] is *B–FHI*
17 founde] fonnde *B*
22 the] that *D*
23 flatterer] fauell *B–F*, fable *HI:* mischief] michiefe *E:* deuise] aduise *FHI*
25 art] are *BC*
26 vpon suche] vponsuch *I*
27 Finis] *Om., and two more lines added after* W. H., *in B+:* W. H.] W.*H. H*
28 [73.] *No number in A+:* *Title in B–FHI is* A dialogue betwene a Gentleman and his Loue: *Stanzas not indented in D+*
31 that craue] that I craue *B–FHI*

74. 2–7 *torn out of G*
6 A.[1]] B. *BC:* kill] klll *I*
7 beshrewe] bethrewe *B*, be shrew *F*
11 thereof] therefore *FGHI*
15 A.[1]] B. *BC*
20 your] yonr *A*
21 truthe] trueth *F–G*, true *I:* shall well] well shall *E+*
23 then] than *D*
24 A.[1]] B. *BC:* not,] *Comma doubtful in A*
25 Be shrewe] beshrewe *B+*
26 Some] *Should be indented in A–C*
30 speds] speedes *C+:* length] leugth *A*
31 armed] armde *B+*
32 will I] I will *I:* flitt] flt *FG*

75. 1 deuises] deuifes *A; last* s *upside down in I*
4 close] true *B+:* finde] fiude *H*
5 you shall] thou shalt *E+:* your] thy *E+*
6 O] A *F+*
11 Finis] FJNJS *C:* M. B.] M. Edwardes *BE+*, M, Edwarde s *D*
12 [74.] *No number in A+:* *Title in B+ is* Exclamyng vpon his vnkinde Loue, his frende replieth wittely: *BC indent only the first line of each stanza, D+ indent no lines at all*
13 thus] s *upside down in A*
15 doest] doost *E+*
19 haue] hath *B+*
22 and] if *E+*
23, 33 H. . . . M.] M. . . . H. *B+*
24 gall] al *I*
28 must] most *C*
29 thy[1]] her *B–G*
31 beats] baits *B+:* sure] sur e *H:* the] thee *B+*

76. 2 doe] did *F+*
5 bearest] hardst *BCD*, hadst *E+*

76. 10 thou] tho u *A*
14 againe] gaine *B+*
15 the] thy *E+*
20 thy] thine *E+*
22 Finis] FJNJS *C*
23 *No number in A+:* ¶ *in A only:* louers] Louer s *D*
24 I] J *C*
25 I] I haue *E+:* for to enioye] *Om. D+:* finishe] finnish *E*
28 embrace] embrac e *I*
30 it is] is it *E+*
32 pangs] pangues *CDEI:* make] makes *D+*
33 deuise] denise *H*

77. 2 sourse] course *B+*
5 Finis] FJNJS *C:* F. K.] FK. *A*
6–78.4 [76.] *in A only; no number in A*

78. 2–4 *in A only*
5 [77.] *No number in A+:* ¶ *in A only:* *E+ indent but do not separate the stanzas*
11 folowed] followe *B+:* on] one *FG*
12 agone] agoe *B–G*
13 resounde] I resounde *D*, I doo resound *E+*
17 Daphnes] Daphne s *A*
18 which mournyng] which monrnyng *A*, whichmourning *I*
19 you[1]] with *F+:* wights] wight s *C*
20 heares] haires *E+:* happs] hap *B+:* showe] shoe *HI*
21 On] Of *D+:* doeth] doth *C+*
25 man] mau *C:* triumps] triumphs *B+*
28 earthly] yearthly *BC:* ioyes I] I ioyes *FG*
29 hid] hide *B+*
30 Ah a alantida] Ah a lalalantida *B–H;* Ah, alalalantida *I*

79. 4 Finis] FJNJS *C*
5–29 [78.] *in A only; no number in A*
29 Findyng] *Wrong type in A (see Notes)*

80. 2 [79.] *No number in A+:* ¶ *in A only:* *E+ do not separate the stanzas, but E–G indent every first, fifth and sixth line, and HI every fifth and sixth*
3 In quest] Inquest *BD*, Jnquest *C:* my relief] my beliefe *EG*, beleefe *HI*
5 langour] laugour *C*, languour *F+:* is suche] suche, as *B+*
6 watrishe] watrie *DEI*, waterie *FGH:* 6, 20, 25 doeth] doth *C+*
7 this] blisse *HI:* deuine] define *C+*
8 *should be indented, like line 7, in FG*
10 feare,] *Comma very faint (and doubtful) in A*
12 doubtfull] donbtfull *A*
25 warmth] warmeth *D*
27 Finis] FJNJS *C:* R. H.] R. Hall *B*, R. Hill *CDE*, H. Hill *FGI*, H. *Hill H*
28–81.22 [80.] *in A only; no number in A*

81. 2–22 *in A only*
23–82.18 [81.] *in AB only; no number in AB*

82. 2–18 *in AB only*
9 Of forse] Offorse *A*
18 V] Vaux *B*
19 [82.] *No number in A+:* ¶ *in A only:* *Title in C+ is* Cœlum non solum: *E+ do not separate into stanzas, but they indent every fifth and sixth line*

82. 20 If] Jf *C:* desire] desires *E+*
21 Or reasons] Orreasons *A (apparently, but the first* r *may be* x*):* raines] raignes *B–G*
22 sights] sighs *B+*
23 signes] sighes *D+*
25 through] though *E+*
28 Pallas] Pallace *C*, *P*allas *FG*
29 amate] a mate *C+*
30 yearth] earth *C+:* doeth] doth *C+*
31 no] uo *D:* Gods] God *B+*
33 sights] sighes *C+*
34 A silent] Asilent *A*

83. 2 A silent] Asilent *A:* doeth] doth *C+:* selde] seeld *C–G*, sild *HI*
3, 8 doeth] doth *C+:* 3 to] the *B+*
4 Phebe] Phœbe *DE*, *P*hæbe *FG*, Phæbe *H:* disdainde] disdaine *D–G*
5 yearth] earth *CE+:* Endimions] Edimions *BCD*
7 reason] reasou *C*
12 aduaunce] aduauuce *B*
13 sithyng] sighing *D+*
14 Amidds] Amidst *C+:* my] thy *F+:* chaunce] channce *B*
18 Finis] FJNIS *C*, EINIS *FG:* M. B.] E. O. *B+*
19 [83.] *No number in A+:* ¶ *in A only:* *E+ do not divide into stanzas, but they indent every fifth and sixth line*
26 Bewraie thy] Bewraythy *FG:* thou] thy *B+*
27 thy[2]] thee *FG*
28 doen] done *CDHI*, doon *E–G*

84. 3 toile] toile *I*
7 case] cause *D+:* waights] wights *FG*
14 yearth] earth *CE+*
16 letts] let *F+*
18 still] still *E*
19 *should be indented in FG*
20 *should not be indented in FG*
23 neede] needde *C*
26 Finis] FJNIS *C:* E.] L. *HI*
27 [84.] *No number in A+:* ¶ *in A only:* *The poem is arranged in stanzas of four long lines in B+, but in E+ the stanzas are not separated*
28 I] J *C:* as seme] as I seeme *C*, as I seeme *DF+*
29 Nor] for *F+*
30 you] yon *C*
31 pensiue] pensine *E*
33 Haniball] *H*anibal *H*

85. 4 *In H a bold printer's-mark obscures the indention:* Cæsar] Cesar *BCI:* presented] preserued *D–G*
5 Pompeyes] *P*ompeis *FG*
7 floud] flould *B*
9 others] other *B+*
13 Cæsars] Cesars *BCI:* teares] grief *B*
18 a] in *D+*
19 in] a *D+:* Pompeyes] *P*ompeis *FG*
22 a fate] afate *A*
23 profixe] prefixe *B+*
28 O.] Ox. *BCD*

85. 29–86.17 [85.] *in ABC only; no number in ABC:* ¶ *in A only:* this] thus *BC*
30 doeth] doth *C*

86. 2–17 *in ABC only*
3 getts] gotts *C*
6 doeth] doth *C:* doth] doeth *B*
10 while] whiles *C*
11 my] the *BC*
13 hope] *Om. B*, ioy *C*
17 O.] Ox. *BC*
18–29 [86.] *in A only; no number in A*
19 wonders] wondes *A* 23 slepe,] *Comma doubtful in A*
30 Beyng] *Wrong type in A (see Notes)*

87. 2 [87.] *No number in A+:* ¶ *in A only:* *C does not indent the stanzas, E+ do not separate them*
3 If] Jf *C*
4 truthe] trueth *E–H*
6 doe] doeth *B*, doth *C*
9 *should be indented in D*
11 woe] we *E+:* thy] the *B+*
13 yearth] earth *C+:* and[2]] ayd *C*
15 my taint] mytainte *E*
16 truthe] trueth *E–H*
19 emongs] amongest *C*, emongest *D*, amongst *E+*
19–21, 26 *are imperfectly indented in E*, 20–21, 26 *in FG*, 20–21 *in HI*
20 dome] doome *C+:* name] uame *I*
21 persue] pursued *F+*
25 haue] hath *B+*
26 though] thought *F+*
27 Finis] FJNJS *C*, Finis *I* (s *upside down*)
28 [88.] *No number in A+:* ¶ *in A only:* *C does not indent the stanzas, E+ do not separate them*
29 Ceder] Cadar *FG:* vnder] vnto *B+*
30 danger] daungers *D*
31 Who] O *I:* then] them *E–H:* deuoide] de uoyde *C*
32 Doeth] Doth *C+:* not yet] yet not *E+:* knowe] knew *C (or else a curiously defective* o*)*

88. 2 sustaine] sustaiue *A*
6 Of brittle] Ofbrittle *A*
7 in] iu *A*
8 stepps] steepes *C+(perhaps, but the dubious* t *may be an* l*):* grefes] greefe *C+:* cares] care *B+*
9 assingde] assignd *C+*
11 might[1]] nighe *BC*, night *D–H*, nights *I:* might[2]] steps *B+:* storme] storms *H*
12 be we] we be *I*
13, 24 doeth] doth *C+*
14 let] ler *C:* vp] bp *I:* our] onr *FG*
15 raigne] ragine *E*
16 Finis] FJNIS *C:* L. V.] W. H. *BC*, W. Hunnis *D–G, om. HI*
17 [89.] *No number in A+:* ¶ *in A only:* Of a] Ofa *F*
18 *C does not indent the stanzas, E+ indent but do not separate them:* doen . . . saied] done . . . sayd *C+:* in] *Om. E+*

88. 19 of all] ofall *E:* doeth] doth *C–G*, doe *HI*
21 in[1]] of *C+:* his] this *B+*
28 not] no *C+*
29 he] ste he *C*, stay he *D:* speaks] speake s *CEI*
30 *should not be indented in C, but should be in F+*
31 we] *Om. BCD*

89. 1 deuises] deuifes *A*
2 Wherefore] Therefore *F+*
4 Finis] FINI*S C*, *F*INIS *H*
5 [90.] *No number in A+:* ¶ *in A only:* *E+ indent but do not separate the stanzas*
6 my] mine *E+*
7 it] is *D+*
8 dreads] treades *D+*
9 thacquaintance] th' acquaintance *D*, the acquaintance *E+*
10, 14, 15, 16, 28 doeth] doth *C+*
11 morrowe] m orrowe *A:* feared] fear'd *E+*
13 mantell] man tell *E+*
15 cōplaines] bewayles *C+*
17 should] fear'd for to *E+:* mortall] *Om. E+*
19 gold, shall] goldeshall *FG:* lose] loose *E+*
20 in] the *D+:* netts] uetts *A*
21 If he] Ifhe *I:* his[2]] hi *FG*
23 ye] you *E+*
24 Finis] FJNJS *C*, FINI*S FG; in E the first* i *is either broken or in a smaller font*
25 [91.] *No number in A+:* ¶ *in A only:* affectes] effectes *DHI*, affects *FG (*s *upside down)*
26 *Stanzas not separated in E+*
28 and] ann *FG*
30–31 *apparently should not be indented in E+*
31 fruite] friute *A*

90. 2 must] most *FG:* learyng] leuring *FG*
3, 18 doeth] doth *C+:* 3 a] his *B+:* slaight] slaite *B*, sleight *C+*
5 in waite] inwaite *B*
7 Is] As *BCD*
8 also] *Om. B+:* suche] with *EFG*, those *HI*
9 that] thac *C:* enchaunt] inchanut *FG*
12 stoppeth] stoupeth *B+*
14 those] these *B–E*
16 An] And *E+:* outward] ontward *B*
19 doeth] doth *B+*
20 daiely fedd] dayly feed *EG+*, daylyfeede *F*
22 loytryng] loytering *CDEI*
24 at] as *B+:* Phenix] Phænix *E–H*, Phœnix *I*
25 burne] bnrne *A*
26 Finis] FJNIS *C; in FG the* F *is badly broken*
27–91.10 [92.] *in A only; no number in A*

91. 2–10 *in A only*
10 Finis] Finis *A*
11 [93.] *No number in A+:* ¶ *in A only:* *C does not indent the stanzas, E+ do not separate them*
13 must I] I must *C+*
14 wofull errande] wofull err & *I:* man] ɯan *H*

91. 15 wretched] wrecched *B:* endite] eudite *B*
17 is] it *HI:* nought] nonght *H*
18 greif] greif *A (undotted* i)
19 That] Than *HI*
20 yet] this *HI*
21 That] Thou *HI:* hast no] hasteno *B*, haste no *C*
28 lose] loose *E+*
29 doeth[1,2]] doth *C+*
30 winne] wiune *I*
31 that] *Om. D+:* of helpe] of health *CDEHI*, ofhealth *FG*

92. 5 harme] hame *B*
6 yelde] yel'd *E*
7 hands] bands *I:* haue his] *Om. D+*
8 Priamus] *P*riamus *FG*, Priamus *I* (s *upside down):* binde] yeeld *C+*
13 to] in *B+:* I] thou *B+*
14 Finis] FINIS *B*, Finis *I* (s *upside down in each case)*
15 [94.] *No number in A+:* ¶ *in A only:* thus] s *upside down in FG*
16 *Stanzas indented but not separated in E+:* In] Jn *C:* terrours] terrous *H:* thraldome] thraldomes *I*
17 thornie] thoruie *A*, thronye *E+*
18 case] cause *B+*
19 cares] teares *B+:* did] d d *E (*i *blurred out)*
20, 24, 32 saied] sayd *C+*
22 *should be indented in C*
23 truthes] truethes *E:* defence] defeuce *B*
27 wouldest] wouldst *E+*
28 My soule] Mysoule *A*
29 berent] all rent *B+*

93. 4 that] the *B+:* boye] boe *D*
5 Whiche] That *B+*
6 saied] sayd *C+*
7 Bis] Biss *C*, *om. D+*
8 Finis] FJNJS *C*, FINI*S D*, Finis *I* (s *upside down):* T. M.] W.H. *BC*, W. Hunnis *D+*
9 [95.] *No number in A+:* ¶ *in A only:* *Title arranged as one line in D+:* troubled in] troubledin *B:* he] *Om. F+*
10 as] s *upside down in FG*
12, 18, 20 doeth] doth *C+:* 12 embrace] emrace *B*
16 doeth] doth *D+*
17–96.31 *torn out of E*
18 worthe] wroth *C*
20 for to set forthe] to set itforthe *B*, to set it forth *CDF+*
23 *should be indented in C or else* 17 *should not be indented*
26 doe] to *HI*
28 and] an d *FG:* to] doe *BCDF+*
29 Finis] FINJS *C:* I. H.] I. Haiwood *B+*
30 [96.] *No number in A+:* ¶ *in A only:* *Stanzas not indented in C*
31 wilt] will *I*
33 shall seme] shallseeme *I*

94. 2–23 *torn out of E*
5 works] workers *I*
6 Makers] Markers *F+*
11 makers] markers *F+*

94. 12 doers] deers *D (apparently, but probably a bad* o*)*
15 doeth] doth *C+*
18 be] bene *DF+:* saied] sayd *C+*
19 rest] great rest *DF+*
20 wanteth] wanted *F+*
23 Finis] FJNJS *C*, *F*inis *H*, Finis *I (*s *upside down):* Iasper] J. *C+*
24–95.12 [97.] *in A only; no number in A*

95. 2–12 *in A only*
13 [98.] *No number in A–DF+:* 13–34 *torn out of E:* ¶ *not in BCF+* Synner] S *upside down in A:* *Title in D* ¶ The complaynt of a Sinner.And song by the Earle of Essex vpon his death bedde in Ireland; *in F+* The complaint of a Sinner, and sung by the Earle of Essex vpon his death bed in Ireland: *Stanzas not indented in C*
15 trone] throne *B*, face *CDF+:* 15, 21, 27 doeth] doth *C+*
16 thy] and *FG (corrected in ink in G to* the*)*
22 despised] despis'd *F+*
25 life] *Blurred out and* feete *inserted in ink in G:* likt] like *BCDF+*
27 my former] myformer *I*
30 yernfull] earnefull *C*, carefull *DF+:* plain] plaint *BCDF+*
31 mercies sake] mercie sake *FGH*, mercysake *I*
32 is like] islike *I*

96. 2–31 *torn out of E*
3 doen] done *C+*
4 Trinitie] Trinitie *F (the undotted* i *before* t *makes the* n *look like* m; *in G the dot is very faintly visible):* thy] thine *HI*
6 Finis] FJNJS *C*, Finis *FG (in F the absence of dots over the* i*'s and the obliteration of the top of the* n *makes the word look like* Fuus*):* F. K.] F. Kindlemarsh *BCD, om. F+*
7 [99.] *No number in A+:* ¶ *in A only:* fruite] frnite *A:* wites] wits *B+:* ruins] ruine *D*
8 heedelesse] headlesse *CDF+:* rues] s *upside down in I:* age] rage *FG*
9 I] J *C:* ruthe] youth *CDF+:* ruins] ruine *I*
10 rue] rule *F+:* rechlesse] restlesse *DF+*
12 tread] trade *D:* led] lead *CD*, leades *F+*
15 trifeled] trifled *B+:* conceiptes] conceites *BCF+*
16 prime] tyme *CDF+:* search] seeke *CDF+*
18 That] T hat *G:* dewe] due *BCDF+*
22 And he] Andhe *A:* doeth] doth *C+:* sowe] sooe *FG*
23 youth] yonth *A*
24 sews] sues *BCDF+:* misspence] mispent *DF+*
25 doeth] doth *C+*
26 hedeles] needelesse *I:* hath[2]] haue *BCD:* proued] proude *I*
28 breds] breede *BCDF+*
30 to] so *CDF+:* selde] seeld *CDF+:* dedst] deadst *CDF+*
31 Finis] FINJS *C*, FINI*S FG:* ꝙ] quod *I*
32–34 *in A only*

99. 2 [100.] 2. *B+:* estate] *The last* e *is almost blotted out in F*
4 sclender] slender *CD*, tender *E+*
5 tree] trees *E+*
7 shiuered] shiuerd *E–H*
8 wood] world *C*
9 axe] *In EFG the* x *is so imperfect as to suggest* r: Oxe] oke *D+*
10 feele] fill *I*

99. 11 renowmed] renowned *C+*
12 the heard] theheard *FG:* huntman] Hunts-man *E+*
14 enioyes] enioyest *CD*, enioyeth *E+*
16 is] are *EFG*
18 thy] the *F+:* nor] and *C+*
19 payse] praise *CE+*
21 burden] burthen *C:* asyde] asype *C (*d *upside down)*
22 his] *The* i *is blurred out in D:* ẏ] the *D+*
23 time] *In E the undotted* i *makes it look as much like* tune (*cf.* 20.3)
24 foode] foote *D*
25 with wine] withwine *FG:* receiue] recciue *B (apparently, but the* c *may be a broken* e*)*
26 the[2]] they *D+*
28–29 *are added from C; also in D+:* 28 tread] treads *HI:* valleyes] valleycs *H apparently*, valloyes *I*
30 presumed] presumed *B*, presum'de *E+*
31 drowned] drounde *E+:* Itarion] Jtarion *C*, Icarian *D*, Icarion *HI*
32 Phaeton] Pheton *D*, Phæton *E–G*
33 ben] *In E the* b *is out of range and apparently of a smaller font:* with heate] withheate *C*

100. 2 sooner] sonner *B*
3 or place] are plaste *C+:* guide] giue *HI:* mase] mace *C+*
4 crowne] Cro wne *I*
5 renowmed] renowned *CE+*
6 may] shall *C+:* dwell] dw ell *I*
7–8 *are added from C; they are also in D+*
9 from] from the *F+*
10 blisful] blis ful *B:* raines] raignes *C+*
11 FINIS] FINJS *C:* Heywood] *H*aywod *I*
12 [101.] 24. *B+ (in E+ it is the second* 24*):* He] *He H:* freend] frendes *E+*
13 *In D+ the title is in one line*
14 maist] mayest *D–G*
17 liues] liuea *E*
18 Thy] The *E:* thy] the *E*, th y *FG*
19 shew thy] sho thy *E–H*, shothy *I*
20 thousand] M. *C*
21 thy] the *I*
22 runne] ruune *FG*
25 harts] hart *E+:* bond] bonds *D*
26 the[1,2]] thy *E+:* then] the *G:* fraude] frand *FG*
28 lies] 'lies *B apparently*, lees *F+*
29 flesh] fl e sh *I (and made rather obscure by an* f *that looks like* t*)*
31 gilld] gilt *D+*
33 none] no *E+*
34 FINIS] FNIS *E*

101. 2 [102.] 29. *BC*, 31.[2] *E+, no number in D:* A] ¶A *D*
3 *Stanzas indented in D+:* J] I *D+:* my] mine *F+*
4 it shall] shall it *F+*
5 is[1]] it *FG*
6 euen] *The first* e *is rather dubious in E*
7 he] be *EFG*

101. 8 time] *Rendered obscure in E by an undotted* i (*cf.* 99.23); t me *G:* his will] h is wi l *I*
16 vsed] vs'd *EHI*, vs d *FG:* you] yon *C*
17 mettest] meetest *C+*
18 to Mayers] *In E a printer's lead fills the space between the words*
19 done] doen *D*, doon *E–G*
24 May posthast] make post hast *D+*
25 wisedome rule] wisedme rnle *I:* an ende] anende *B*
26 May[1]] pray *HI*
27 FINIS] FJNJS *C*
28 [103.] 32. *BCD*, 34. *E+:* Epitaph] Epitap h *I*
29 Knight] *In E+ this word stands at the end of the preceding line:* Baron] Boron *B*, Barron *HI:* Exchequer] Exchequor *E*, Fxchequer *I*
30 *In E+ all the lines begin flush:* weare] were *FG:* fatal] fatall *D*
31 Parcas] Pareas *D+*
32 Pierides] *P*eriades *FG*, Periades *HI*

102. 2 you[1,2]] your *C+*
3 sighes] sithes *E*
4 Phæbus] Phœbus *EHI*, *P*hœbus *FG:* Pallas] Pallas *FG* (s *upside down*): pappe, as] papas *I:* of Sibils] ofSibils *FG*
6 Ioue] Joue *C:* noursht] nurst *E+*
5–7 *The last words of these lines are considerably out of range in I*
7 how] their *F:* ỹ] the *D*, there *E+*
8 Lycurgus] Lycurgns *H:* Rhadamanthus] Radamantus *DE*, Rodamantus *FG*, Rodomantus *HI*
9 A nother] An other *C+:* Nestor] Nector *D–G*, Nectar *HI*
10 Phocion] *P*hocion *FG*
13 sods] fods *B (apparently) and C*, floudes *D+*
14 Not] Nor *C+:* ne] nor *D+:* Prienna] Prienua *C*, *P*rienna *FG*
15 for [2]] our *D+*
17 and] ond *D*
19 Cuma] Cum *I (the* a *is blotted out):* Sibilla] Sibella *H*
23 thereof] wherof *E+*
26 deceiued] deceiues *D+*
28 must] most *D+:* shewe] she we *B*
29 sowen] sowne *E+*
30 fled] fldd *E*, sword *F+*
31 Priamus] *P*riamus *FG:* Periander] *P*eriander *FG*
32 Hector, Hanno, Hanibal] *All have italic capitals in H, with roman small letters:* Pompei] *P*ompei *FG:* Pirrhus] Pyrhus *FG*
33 Cæsar slaine] Cæsarslaine *I*

103. 2 So long] Solong *I:* Fortune] fortunne *I*
3 fate] face *C:* found] fonnd *B*
4 feates] feakes *DE*, frekes *FG*, wrekes *HI*
7 false] once *E+*
8 could] cold *D+*
11 Iudge[1]] Indge *B*
13 wan] hath wan *E*, hath wun *F+*
14 There] The *D*
17 haplesse] happilesse *F+*
19 Gods] God *E+:* aboue] *In D the space between this word and the next one is filled with a printer's lead*
21 doo] to *E+*

103. 28 Hesters] *H*esters *H*
29 Iudiths] Judiths *C*
30 haue] had *E*+
31 wan] winne *F*+
32 you] yon *I*
33 *should be indented in B:* triumpth] triumph *C*+
104. 1 *In D this heading falls on the wrong (right-hand) page*
4 you] your *E*, y ou *I*
5 you] your *D*+: England] Eugland *FG*
9 I[2]] and *D*+
10 it] is *F*+: Apollos sweard] Apolios sweard *E*, Opolios swoord *FG*, Opolois sword *HI*
11 Mauger] manlie *F*+
12 farwell] farwe *I*
16 Gemme] Gennne *BC perhaps:* Pactolus] Pactolos *C*+: lo] low *E–H; in I a very small fragment of what was apparently a* w *is visible*
17 Indian] Iudian *FG:* stones] stone *D*+: to show] toshow *E*
19 my[3]] the *E*+
21 felowes] fellewes *FG:* Queene] King *I*
22 doth[2]] both *I*
23 Parcas] Parcus *C–GI*, *P*arcus *H*
24 skies] s kies *H*
26 vanish] vanisheth *E*+
28 triump] triumph *C*+
29 shattering] shattring *E*+
31 calld] called *HI*
105. 2 in[1]] the *D*+
3 dome] dcme *C (apparently, but perhaps a broken* o*)*
6 LLoyd] L. Loyd *FG*, Loyd *HI*
7 [104.] 40. *BCD*, 41. *EFG*, 14 (*misprint for* 41) *HI*
8 Trustie] Faithfull *F*+
9 foe] so *D*
10 colour] coler *D*, culler *E*+
11 Goun] Gun *CD*, gowne *E*+
13 shamles] shamefull *F*+: child] chile *I*
14 wealth] breath *I*
15 til] while *C*+: sticke doth] stickedoth *I*
16–20 *are half blurred out in B*
17 warnd to] warn'dto *FG*
20 FINIS] FJNJS *C*, Finis *I* (s *upside down*)
21 [105.] 51. *B–G (in CD it is the second* 51*)*, 15 (*misprint for* 51) *HI*
25 in loue] inloue *FG*
26 shalt] shall *E*+: others] other *FG*
27 *is indented in D*
28 geeue] ge eue *B*
29 truth] trueth *EFG:* liues] *In I the* l *is so broken as to look like* i
31 FINIS] FJNJS *C*, FINI*S D*, FIN*IS FG:* M. Hunnis] W. Hunis *D–G*, W. *H*unis *H*, W. Hunnis *I* (s *upside down*)
106. 2 [106.] 63. *B*, 60. *CD*, 59. *E*+: dialog] Dilogue *E:* auctour] Authour *D*+
3 Auctour] Aucthour *D–G*, Author *HI*
4 didst] doest *D*, doost *E–G*
13 Aucthour] Auctour *C*, Author *HI*
16 doen] done *C*+: mights] mightst *C–GI*, might'st *H*

106. 17 sonne] soone *E*
19 bee bolde] behold *I*
21 cause] ease *E+*
23 Auctour] Aucthour *D–G*, Author *HI*
27 bids] bid *I:* bee] me *F+*
28 FINIS] FJNJS *C:* M.] W. *D+*

107. 2 [107.] *No number in B–FHI:* 2–108.10 *torn out of G:* comparable] eomparable *C*
4 And] Aud *D:* 4, 6, 31 doeth] doth *C–FHI*
5 wailyng] wayliug *F*
6 rent] reut *B*
7 grips] gripes *C–FHI:* pinyng] pinching *EFHI*
9 the[1]] tue *E:* pantyng] painting *I*
11 FINIS] FINIS *B* (S *upside down*), FINI*S F:* Hunnis] s *upside down in I*
12 [108.] *No number in B–FHI:* *Stanzas indented but not separated in EFHI:* He] *He H*
13 youth] yonth *FH:* thatz] thats *DEFI*, that's *H*
14 youthes] youth *F:* and] snd *F*
17 euer] euery *EF:* synfull man] finfullman *F*
19 In youth] Inyonth *F:* rangde] randge *FH*
20 In youth] in yonth *F*
22 folly] foliye *E (apparently, but perhaps a broken* l*):* kept] keepe *FHI*
25 FINIS] FJNJS *C*, FINIS *D*, EINIS *F:* M.] W. *D–FHI:* Hunnis] s *upside down in F*
26 [109.] *No number in B–FHI:* of feined] offained *F*
27 *In C+ this poem is arranged in three stanzas of six, seven, and two lines respectively; the stanzas are separated in D only:* In] Jn *C:* Cirēs] Sirens *D–FHI*
30 founde] fonnde *B*

108. 2–10 *torn out of G*
4 the] that *D*
5 fauell] fable *HI:* ỹ] thou *C–FHI:* deuise] aduise *FH*, aduiso *I*
7 are] art *D–FHI*
8 W.H.] W.*H. H*
9 *is not indented in EFHI*
11–111.10 [110.] *in B only; no number in B*

109. 25 satisfy] satis fy *B*
32 for none] fornone *B*

110. 8 closely] closesly *B*
9 sylence] syleuce *B*

111. 2 greefe,] greefe,, *B*
10 G] *Wrong font (roman) in B*
11 [111.] *No number in B+:* requited] required *D*
12 In] Jn *C*
14, 18 doeth] doth *C+*
15 faithfull] faithfull *I*
17 Ioue] Joue *E*, Iou *FG (practically, for the* e *is almost invisible):* can make] canmake *FG*
20 *is not indented in C; in E there is no space between the stanzas:* a loft] afoft *FG*
22 triumps] triumphes *C+*
25 to] at *FG*
26 bragged late] braggedlate *I:* conquerer] conqureour *E*

111. 27 vessall] Vassall *C+*
28 FINIS] FJNJS *C*, Finis *I* (s *upside down*)
29 [112.] *No number in B+:* Of] ¶ Of *C:* state] estate *E+*
30 *In CD the poem is separated into three four-line stanzas:* In] Jn *CFG*

112. 2 want $\overset{t}{y}$] want $\overset{e}{y}$ *EHI*, want$\overset{e}{y}$ *FG*
3 postes] posses *CD*, possesse *E+:* $\overset{e}{y}^{2}$] $\overset{t}{y}$ *H*
4 That] The *E+*
8 haue] had *F+*
11 [113.] *No number in B+:* thus] s *upside down in FGI*
12 *Stanzas not indented in C; indented but not separated in E+:* baier] Beare *F+:* postyng] hosting *C*
13 corsse] coarse *E+*
14 saie I] I saye *F+:* seely] sillye *E+:* doest] doost *E+*
15 eithe] either *D*, thats *E+* (*the first three letters are blurred out in H*): that] and *E+*
16, 18, 20 Doest] Doost *E+*
19 whiche that is] the which are *E+*
20 *should be indented in I:* through smiteth] dooth strike through *E+:* launce] Lannce *FG*
21 with] by *C+*
22 yearth] earth *C+*
23, 27, 30 doeth] doth *C+:* 23 Sommer] sununer *I*
24 sprong] sproug *D*
25 weareth] withereth *E+*
26 from] feom *C*
31 your] the *DEI*, thy *F–H*
32 FINIS] FJNJS *C*

115. 2 [114.] *No number in C+:* *Title arranged as four lines in D; divided somewhat differently from C in I:* Written] ¶ Written *D:* Maister] M. *I:* Iohn] John *E*
3 Southampton] Southhampton *HI*
4 25.] the 25.of *E+:* Ætatis] s *upside down in I:* 78] 76 *D*, 79 *E+*
6 hearste] hearest *E+*
9 Though] T hough *G:* restraine] resteaine *E*
11 Thy] T hy *G*
12 and] aud *C:* turnd] turne *HI*
14 Barnabie] Bernabe *HI:* couldst] couldest *FGH*
15 saying] sayinges *I*
16 Thou] Thus *D–G*, Tush *HI:* nor^{1}] no *D+*
19 in] with *D+:* earth] the yearth *D*
23 to^{2}] or *E+*
27 you^{2}] ye *D+*
28 among] emong *D*
29 FJNJS] FINIS *D+*

116. 2 [115.] *No number in C+:* No] ¶No *D*
3 *Stanzas indented in D; indented but not separated in E+:* Jn] In *D–H*, If *I*
4 doth] with *E+:* glistering] glittering *F+*
5 The carefull] Thecareful *I*
6 ghostly] ghastly *E+*
8 In] Iu *C*
12, 26 Doth] Doeth *D*
13 feeles] feedes *E+*
14 naught] not *I*

116. 15 The] Thy *D+*
19 knowen] knowne *D+*
20 sowen] sowne *E+*
26 his] him *E+*
27 sins] since *D+*
30 dwelt me in] dwelt in me *DE*, dwell in me *F+*
31 do] die *HI*
32 That] Thaȝ *C*
33 FJNJS] FINIS *D+*: ℘] quod *I*

117. 2–118.14 [116.] *in C only; no number in C*
19 common] commou *C*

118. 15–119.26 [117.] *in C only; no number in C*
31 *is indented in C*

119. 27 [118.] *No number in CDF+*: 27–120.32 *torn out of E*: *Stanzas indented in DF+*
28 this] the *F+*
29 sinne] sinnn *FG*
31 bayre] baite *DF+*

120. 2–32 *torn out of E*
3 men ioynes] menioynes *FG*
4 eyes] eyen *DF–H*, eyne *I*
7 blowne] blowen *DFG*
8 slime] sime *H*, sinne *I*
15 camste] camest *I*
16 haute hie] houtie *FG*, hautie *HI*
21 Abase] Abate *HI*: makes] make *HI*
22 Collyers] *In I the second* l *is so broken as to obscure the identity of the word:* tyre] trie *FG*
23 Euen so] Euenso *C*
24 Whoso] whose *DF+*: happe] happe so *DF+*: winne] wiune *I*
28 lightning] lightening *FG*
32 FJNJS] FINIS *DF+*: G. G.] G. Gask *DF+*

121. 2–20 [119.] *in C only; no number in C*
13 agayn] agayu *C*
21–124.9 [120.] *in C only; no number in C*

123. 11 In] Iu *C*

127. 2 [121.] *No number in DE*, 23. *in F+*: precepts] s *upside down in FG*
3 *The large block-letter* P *is in D only; from the fourth stanza on, HI abandon the policy of stanza-indention, but H relapses momentarily at line* 27
4 beyond[1]] beyound *I*
10 skils] wit *FHI*: if you attentife] ify ou attentiue *I*
19 *should be indented in FG*: doest] doost *E+*
26 valure] valour *I*
27 *apparently should not be indented in H*
28 loues] loue *F+*
29 loose] lose *E*: law] la w *FG*
30 Banckrupts] Banckrouts *E+*

128. 3 *indented in HI*
4 Ar. Bourcher *added in FG*, A.(*and* A,)Bourcher *in HI*
5 [122.] *No number in D*, 24.[1] *in E+*: ¶ *in D only*
6 THe] TAe *I*
7 then the] thēthe *E*
10 thou] you *HI*

128. 11 be slow] beslow *I:* Sayle] Snaile *E+*
12 heede] heəd *FG*
15 vs[1]] *Om. F+*
18 *should be indented in D:* some] Fame *I:* stale] stall *I*
20 lappe] lay *E+*
21 enuies] enuious *E+:* mauger] manger *I*
26 helpe implore] helpimplore *E*
27 crau's] craues *E+*
28 vertues] verutes *FG*

129. 2 [123.] *No number in D+:* ¶ *in D only:* partes] s *upside down in FG*
3 Wrote] Who wrote *F+*
5 *Poem not separated into stanzas in E+, but after every four lines two lines are indented*
7 Who . . . crowne] Who seekes the way to winne renowne *E+*
9 eschewe] escew *I*
10 *should be indented in FG*
11 *should not be indented in E–G*
15 saith] saieth *E+*
19 minde] mindes *F+*
22 heartes] hai tes *E (apparently, but probably the broken letter is* r*)*
24 abroad] ab roade *H*
26 kinsfolkes] kindsfolks *H*
29 lust] list *F+*
31 with buckled] wit hbuckled *D*
34 to feede] tofeede *I:* a] the *F+*

130. 2 Iason] Jason *E*
4 golden] golded *FG*
9 trauaile] trauell *I:* wanne] wunne *F+*
11 ydely] Idlely *E–G*, idely *HI*
12 with them bene] been with them *F+*
15 [124.] *No number in DF+:* 15–134.16 *torn out of E*
18 strife] greefe *HI*
23 twixt] t wixt *I*
24 *should be indented in I*
26 finde] findes *HI*
28 *should be indented in F+*
30 hauntes] huntes *FG*
31 lose] loose *F+*

131. 2 to] by *F+:* woe] wo e *I:* 2–31 *torn out of E*
4 himselfe] himseife *I (apparently, or else a broken* l*)*
5 bringes] brings a *F+*
6 *should be indented in FG*
10 FINIS] FINI*S DI:* I] J *FG*
11 [125.] *No number in DF+:* Edwardes] Edwarde*s FG*
14 Nightingall] Nightingale *HI*
16 Hare,] Hart, *F+* (*comma very faint in D*)
22 horned toppes] hornedtops *FG*
23 euery] ouerie *FG*, ouer the *HI*
25 he] be *I:* his] the *F+:* skinne] skiune *I*
28 *should be indented in I*
29 My] May *D:* freshe] fr esh *I*
30 I must] must *I F+:* may[1]] play *F+*
31 saue] s aue *I*

132. 2–31 *torn out of E*
3 Vnfolde] Vntolde *D apparently:* ◜ baske] maske *HI:* pleasure] pleasures *F+* (*in FG the last* s *is upside down*)
4 may] ɯay *FG*
6 FINIS] *The* F *is badly broken in FG*
7 [126.] *No number in DF+*
8 who doest] who doost *F–H*, wh ydost *I:* my] thy *F+*
10 doest] doost *F+*
11 yearth] earth *F+:* and[2]] an *F+*
12 euery[2]] enerie *FG*
15 should] shonld *FG*
21 assaults] assau ts *FG*
23 do] did *F+*
27 drinke] driuck *FG*

133. 2–29 *torn out of E*
6 follie first] folliefirst *D*
8 *should be indented and the paragraph separated in HI:* I do] doo I *F+*
10 My] ɯy *G*
11 the] thy *F+*
14 FINIS] Finis *I* (s *upside down*)
15 [127.] *No number in DF+:* ¶ *om. F+*
16 rashlie] r ashly *FG*
20 Mate] may *F+*
25 traueld] trauailed *F–H*, trauelled *I*
26 raging] ranging *HI*

134. 2–16 *torn out of E*
4 Fermars] Farmers *F+:* tent] tend *F+*
6 trips] tripes *I*
8 In fruitlesse] iu fruitlesse *G*, Infrutlesse *I*

NOTES

NOTES

References are to pages and lines. For words and phrases on which no notes are given see the Glossarial Index. The Elizabethan editions of the *Paradise* are referred to by the system explained on pages xiv and 137.

The following works are cited by short titles or abbreviations:

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Rollins, Hyder E. *An Analytical Index to the Ballad-Entries* (*1557–1709*) *in the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London*, University of North Carolina Press, 1924. [Printed also in *Studies in Philology*, XXI (1924), 1–324.]

Tottel's *Miscellany*, ed. Edward Arber, *English Reprints*, London, 1870. [Popular title of *Songes and Sonettes, written by the ryght honorable Lorde Henry Haward late Earle of Surrey, and other*, 1557.]

1. The most noteworthy omission in the list of contributors is the name of William Hunnis. See the descriptions of the title-pages of later editions given in the Introduction, above.

2. The arms of Sir Henry Compton (on which see Henry Drummond's *Histories of Noble British Families*, I [1846], 12) appear in the editions of 1576,

[1577], 1578, and 1580 only, — i. e., editions *A–C*. The 1577 edition, it may be necessary to repeat here, is not known, while the title-page of *E* (*ca.*1590) is torn out.

3. 2 *Syr Henry Compton, &c.* Henry Compton, the son and heir of Peter Compton and his wife, Lady Anne Talbot, daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury, was born on February 16, 1537/8. Peter died January 30, 1538/9, before he had reached the age of twenty-one. Henry was knighted by the Earl of Leicester on February 10, 1566/7, and was summoned by the Queen to the House of Lords as Baron Compton of Compton on May 8, 1572. In 1578 he was visited by the Queen at Tottenham. Though his name does not appear in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (except as mentioned incidentally in the account of his distinguished grandfather, Sir William Compton), Lord Compton must have been an important person; for he was one of the peers who tried Mary Queen of Scots and one of the four principal mourners at her funeral. He married, first, a daughter of the Earl of Huntingdon, and, second, Anne Spencer, then the widow of Lord Monteagle and subsequently the wife of Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorset, the famous poet and statesman. (To "the right Honorable the Ladie Compton and Mountegle," by the way, Spenser dedicated his *Prosopopoia* in 1591.) Compton died and was buried at Compton on December 10, 1589. His eldest son, William, became the first Earl of Northampton. Matthew Grove's *The most famous and Tragicall Historie of Pelops and Hippodamia* (1587) has two addresses to Compton: one, by Grove, is merely headed "The Authors Epistle"; the other, by the printer Richard Smith, is a verse-dedication entitled, "*To the ryght Honorable, Sir* Henrie Compton Knight, Lord Comp*ton of Compton hole*, R. S. *wisheth long life with increase of honour.*"

Five extant editions of the *Paradise*, *A–E* (and presumably the edition of 1577, making six), carried this dedication; after Compton's death in 1589 it was omitted in subsequent editions.

11 *through the trauell of one.* I. e., by the work of Richard Edwards, whose name is featured on the title-page.

4. 13–14 *like as the shadow, &c.* Disle, the printer, writes in pretty good euphuistic style.

5. 1 (No. 1) *The Translation of . . . Saint Barnards verses, &c.* Observe that Nos. 1–4 were apparently inserted as an afterthought. They have neither numbers nor signature-marks in *A*. No. 1 occurs in every edition as the opening poem (sigs. A2^{v}–A3 in *B–E*, A2–A2^{v} in *F–I*). In each it is signed "My Luck is Loss," a signature that cannot safely be identified with any known author, though the names of George Gascoigne and Barnabe Rich are, as I have observed on pp. lvi f., often proposed. No. 1 is reprinted in *Censura Literaria*, IV (1807), 27, and in Gascoigne's *Complete Poems*, ed. Hazlitt, II, 323. Probably it was the ballad called "Sainct Barnardes sonnett of the vanitie of this world" that was registered for publication on June 22, 1602 (Rollins, *Analytical Index*, No. 2359).

The authorship of the original Latin poem has been attributed to Walter Map (or Mapes), to Jacobus de Benedictis, and to various others, as well as to St. Bernard of Clairvaux: see the discussion of this matter in B. Haureau's *Des poèmes latins attribués à saint Bernard* (1890), p. 27. For the original Latin text see Thomas Wright's *Latin Poems Commonly Attributed to Walter Mapes*, pp. 147 f. (Camden Society, 1841); Richard Hill's *Songs, ca.*1536, pp. 93 f.; and Carleton Brown's *Register of Middle English Religious & Didactic Verse*, II (1920), Nos. 2221, 2649. Wright gives readings from seven Anglo-Latin MSS. Instead of calling attention to the bad Latin in the *Paradise* version, perhaps it will suffice to enumerate the variants of Wright's text (*W*):

5. 14 premijs] præmiis: quæ nunquam] quis unquam
21 Magis credendū] Credendum magis: viris] duris: miseris] miseri
22 Falsis . . . vanitatibus] fallax in sompniis ac vanitatibus, fallax in studiis ac voluptatibus
6. 2 Salomon] Salamon: vbi Samson] Samson ubi
3 Vel . . . amabilis *comes after* vel . . . mirabilis *in W*
18–19 *come after* 26–27 *in W*
19 quam diu] quamdiu
26 hominū] hominis: sic] sunt
27 semper subtrahit] tamen subtrahunt: hominū] hominem: dura] rura
7. 4 Hæc mundi . . . penditur] Hæc carnis . . . dicitur: fæni] fœni
5 Vt] vel: hominem] hominis: hac vita tollitur] a luce trahitur

For variants in later editions of the *Paradise* see pp. 138 f., above.

Wright's version has two other stanzas, the first of which follows 6.11, the second 7.5. They are:

Tot clari proceres, tot retro spatia,
tot ora præsulum, tot regum fortia,
tot mundi principes tanta potentia,
in ictu oculi clauduntur omnia.

Nil tuum dixeris quod potes perdere;
quod mundus tribuit intendit rapere;
superna cogita, cor sit in æthere,
fœlix qui poterit mundum contempnere.

In the margin of sig. A3 of *B* an old hand has written a partial quotation from the first of these stanzas, — "tot clari proceres tanta potentia in ictu oculi clauduntur omnia." Wright also prints, in a foot-note, an additional final stanza from Sloane MS. 1584.

Perhaps no other poem was more popular in Middle English and Tudor English — to say nothing of French — than St. Bernard's. In this connection see Helen L. Cohen's *Lyric Forms from France* (1922), pp. 26 f., 47; my *Old English Ballads* (1920), pp. 262–264; and *Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript*, ed. Hales and Furnivall, III, 168 ff. An early Elizabethan translation by Thomas Tusser occurs in the edition of his works made by the English Dialect Society (1878), pp. 202 ff. His version of stanza 4, for example, runs thus:

Tell me where is *Salomon*, that once so noble was?
Or where now *Samson* is, in strength whome none could pas?
Or woorthie *Ionathas*, that prince so louely bold?
Or faier *Absolon*, so goodlie to behold?

As a specimen of a Jacobean imitation see Samuel Rowlands's *A Terrible Battell*, *ca.* 1606, D3^{v}, one stanza of which runs:

Wher's *Hector* gone, and *Hercules* become?
What newes with *Pompey* and *Achilles* now?
Where marcheth *Alexander* with his drum,
To *Caesars* scepter who doth yeeld or bow:
Where are these great and mighty conquering ones,
Time, shew an ounce of dust of all their bones.

Much earlier (1483) John Skelton, writing "Of the Death of . . . Kynge Edwarde the Forth" (*Poetical Works*, ed. Dyce, I [1856], 6, and *Mirror for Magistrates*, ed. Joseph Haslewood, II [1815], 246), had inquired:

Why should a man be proude or presume hye?
Sainct Bernard therof nobly doth trete,
Seyth a man is but a sacke of stercorry,
And shall returne vnto wormis mete.
Why, what cam of Alexander the greate?
Or els of stronge Sampson, who can tell? . . .

6. 17 *whose penne had witte and wyll.* Read *whose penne had witte at wyll.*

7. 7 *In holy sacred booke, &c.* Cf. Psalms ciii. 15, "As for man, his days are as grass: as a flower of the field so he flourisheth."

13 (No. 2) *Beware of had I wyst.* In every edition (sigs. B in *B–E*, A4^{v} in *F–I*), with the signature of "My Luck is Loss" in each. Reprinted in Gascoigne's *Complete Poems*, ed. Hazlitt, II, 325 f., and in *Censura Literaria*, IV (1807), 31 f. The title is a common proverbial expression, which is repeated at 15.15. Cf. John Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, iv. 304 f., "make a man mishappe, To pleigne and telle of hadde I wist"; *The Prouerbis of Wysdom*, *ca.*1475 (ed. Julius Zupitza, Herrig's *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, XC [1893], 246, 258 f.), "There fore euer be ware of 'Had I wyst'"; John Skelton, *Magnyfycence* (*Poetical Works*, ed. Dyce, II [1856], 12, 66), "Hem, syr, yet beware of Had I wyste," "Yet it is good to beware of Had I wyst"; Sir Thomas Elyot, *The Book Named The Governor*, 1531 (ed. H. H. S. Croft, II [1883], 51), "this worde, *Had I wist*, whiche hath ben euer of all wise men reproued"; *The Image of Ypocresye*, 1533 (*Ballads from Manuscripts*, ed. Furnivall, I, 225, Ballad Society), "lest it be to late To trust on hadd-I-wist"; Tottel's *Miscellany*, 1557, p. 244, "A wise man saith not, had I wist"; *A Newe Interlude of Impacyente Pouerte*, 1560 (ed. R. B. McKerrow, 1911, p. 24), "Yet I saye beware of had I wyst"; John Heywood's *Works*, 1562, p. 5, "And that deliberacion doth men assist Before they wed to beware of had I wist"; Whetstone, *The Rock of Regard*, 1576 (Collier's reprint, p. 16), "To salve whose

harme too late coms had I wist"; Nicholas Breton, *A Floorish upon Fancie*, 1582 (ed. Thomas Park, p. 95; cf. p. 222), "Take thou still heede of 'had I wist'"; Lodge, *Rosalynde*, 1590, O^{v} (*Works*, ed. Hunterian Club, I. v. 106), "There is no follie in Loue to had I wist"; *Tell-Trothes New-yeares Gift*, 1593 (ed. Furnivall, p. 10, New Shakspere Society), "had I wist, is a slender remedy to remoue repentaunce, but a manifest badge of folly"; Spenser, *Prosopopoia*, 1591, lines 892 f., "Most miserable man, whom wicked fate Hath brought to court, to sue for had ywist"; Henry Porter, *The Two Angry Women of Abingdon*, 1599, H3^{v} (*Tudor Facsimile Texts*), "you seek to quarrel but beware of had I wist"; J. Gruter, 1611, II, 175, "Beware of, Had I wist"; Camden's *Proverbs*, 1614, p. 320, "Beware of had I wist"; Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, 1621, II. §3.vii, "Look before you leap. Beware of Had I wist"; William Browne, *Britannia's Pastorals*, 1613, i. 2 (*Whole Works*, ed. Hazlitt, I, 80), "His late wisht *had-I-wists*, remorcefull bitings." Many other examples are cited in the *Handful*, p. 104. A. C. Swinburne has a poem called "Had I Wist."

7. 18 *hate shal heape despite*. Hate shall accumulate bitter mortification (from disappointment).

25 *safely how to loue and leaue*. "A difficult point," observes a MS. note in *B*.

8. 1 (No. 3) *The perfect tryall of a faythfull freend*. In all editions (sigs. A4 in *B–E*, A3^{v} in *F–I*), with the signature of Yloop changed in *B–I* to M.(Master) Yloop. Reprinted in George Ellis's *Specimens*, II (1801), 121, (1803), 149.

4 *Not passed wealth, &c*. See 120.22 n.

10 *Not freedomes vse*. Not the habitual use, or practice, of freedom, i. e., of one's own wishes.

17 (No. 4) *No pleasure, without some payne*. In all editions (sigs. B3^{v} in *B–E*, B3 in *F–I*), with the authorship attributed to W. R. (Sir Walter Raleigh?) in *BC* and to William Hunnis in *D–I*. The initials E. S. in line 36 may, then, be disregarded. They have been variously interpreted, even as those of Edmund Spenser. The authorship is very doubtful, though probably Hunnis has the best claim. The poem is reprinted in John Hannah's *Poems of Sir Walter Raleigh . . . and Other Courtly Poets* (1892), pp. 76 f. Opposite the title a MS. note in *B* says, "loue saused." Draxe, 1616, p. 402, gives as proverbs, "Pleasure asketh paine" and "He that will haue the pleasure, must endure the paine." The title of No. 4 occurs again at 72. 25.

18–19 *Sweete were the ioyes, &c*. See 52.17 n.

25 *wast of winde*. Read *waft of winde*.

26 *The trustlesse traynes*. I. e., the untrustworthy snares.

33 *sugred sowre, must sause the bitter sweete*. Proverbial. Cf. 70.11 n.

34 *might any meanes remoue*. Subjunctive mood: If any means could remove. The period has changed places with the comma after *loue* below.

9. 2 (No. 5) *Our pleasures are vanities*. In every edition (sigs. A3^{v} in *B–E*, A3 in *F–I*), with the authorship in *B–I* assigned to William Hunnis. His claim to the poem must, accordingly, be granted. D.S., the signature in *A*, is

probably an abbreviation for the mysterious D. Sand. A marginal MS. note in *B* says, "tale est quidda*m* fol. 24" (i. e., No. 105 in this reprint), and in the margin of No. 105 the same hand has written, "Vide cantaru*m* [*sic*] prius [?] eodem authore" (i. e., No. 5). Cf. 105. 21 n. The poem is reprinted in Farr's *Select Poetry*, II, 300 f.

9. 3 *the*[1]. This word should in the original be in black-letter type, and hence here in roman; and the title of the poem should be made up (cf. No. 105 and the notes) of the italicized words, *Behold the end ere thou begin*, *Haue mind*, etc.

20 (No. 6) *M. Edwardes May*. In every edition (sigs. B^v in *B–D*, B–B^v in *E*, $A4^v$–B in *F–I*), with Edwards's signature added in *B–I*. A MS. note in *B* says, "vide Catull[um]. de aduentu veris fol. 17"; one in *E* has, "See the reply to it at 31," and one in *F*, "See 31." For answers to this poem see Nos. 102 and 125.

The poem is reprinted with music in John Forbes's *Cantus, Songs and Fancies* (2d ed., 1666, no. xxxvi). Apart from its slight verbal differences from the *Paradise* version, Forbes's text also adds "The Second Part," consisting of three stanzas running thus:

When time and space is spent,
Then may each heart be fear'd:
Whē beyōd time the Judge shal come
In wrath, what strength can bear't:
Then Judges all perverse,
Shal sigh that they were born,
When cast in everlasting fire,
Because the truth they scorn.
All Natures imps shal mourn,
When wealth and ease is past.
Take time in time, when time is gone,
Eternity comes last.
Take time in time, when time is gone,
Eternity comes last.

In time well spent, rejoice,
For that's the way to rest.
Time is that point wherein the Lord
Hates evil, and loves the best.
Pray for a tender heart:
Bear here your grief and pain:
For time it is that many are,
Who spend their life in vain.
That things be strangely wrought,
Before all time is past.
Though time be now, it shal not be,
Eternity comes last,
Though time, &c.

All ye that be in time,
And hath your time but short,
Redeem your time, as God cõmands,
I humbly you exhort:
Use time while ye have time,
For time will have an end:
When all your life-time shal be spent,
It is too late to mend.
Your liking and your lust
Shal ceass when time is past:
Spend well your time, when time is gone,
Eternity comes last.
Spend well your time, when time is gone,
Eternity comes last.

No. 6 appears in Ellis's *Specimens*, II (1801), 111 f., (1803), 139 f. Similar to it are the poems on May in Turbervile's *Epitaphes*, 1567 (Collier's reprint, pp. 195–198), and in the *Bannatyne Manuscript*, 1568 (ed. Hunterian Club, III, 443–446). An interesting punning poem on May, attributed to the Elizabethan actor Nathaniel Field and preserved in a MS. owned by Mr. W. A. White, of Brooklyn, may be worth citing:

Feild y^e^ player on his M^rs^ the Lady May.

Itt is the fayr & merry moneth of May
y^t^ clothed the ffeild in all his rych array
adorning him w^th^ colours better dyed
then any king can wear or any bryd
but May is allmost spent the ffeild growes dun
w^th^ too much gazing on the ỹ^u^ Mayes hott sunn
And if mild Zephirus y^t^ gentle wynd
vouchsafe not his calme breath & the clouds kynd
distill their honny droppe his heat to lay
poore ffeild will burne een in the midst of May.

9.32 *Take May in time.* A similar idea is expressed in The Wisdom of Solomon ii. 8, "Let us crown ourselves with rosebuds, before they be withered," to say nothing of Robert Herrick's famous imitative lyric beginning "Gather ye rosebuds while ye may."

10. 5 *When all the fruite is gone, &c.* Evidently a proverb, though I do not recall having met with this particular form of it elsewhere. Cf. 27.25 n.

9 (No. 7) *Faire woordes make fooles faine.* In every edition (sigs. B^v^–B2 in *B–E*, B–B^v^ in *F–I*), and uniformly attributed to Richard Edwards. The poem was twice registered for publication in broadside-ballad form: in 1563–64 by William Griffith and in 1565–66 by Thomas Colwell (Rollins, *Analytical Index*, Nos. 831, 832). Whether or not Edwards consented to, or approved of, that form of publication is doubtful. Another copy of the poem, unsigned, is preserved in Additional MS. 15,233, whence it was reprinted by J. O. Halliwell [-Phillipps] in his edition of John Redford's *Moral Play of Wit and Science*, pp.

74 f. (Shakespeare Society, 1848). If mere orthographical variations are ignored, the MS. differs from the *Paradise* version only in eleven small points:

10. 15 poore] pare
16 Yet] But: the] that
20 tales] talkes
26 where] wheares
31 often] *Om.*
32 must I] I must
33 them] age
11. 2 turne] prove
3 growē turnde
6 no[1] not

Too late to collate, I find another version, without title or signature, in the so-called Harington MS. (Additional 28,635, fol. 106).

The title is proverbial. Cf. *Everyman* (Dodsley-Hazlitt, *Old Plays*, I, 117), "Lo, fair words maketh fools fain"; Richard Hill, *Songs*, *ca.*1536, p. 128, "Faire behestis makith folis fain"; Heywood, *Works*, 1562, pp. 56, 155, "And so rather let faire woordes make fooles fayne, Than be plaine without pletes, & plant your owne payne," "Fayre woordes make fooles fayne, that was by olde scooles: But now we see, fayre woordes make wyse men fooles"; John Keeper, "The Unsertaintie of seruice," in Thomas Howell's *Newe Sonets, and pretie Pamphlets*, 1568, G[v] (*Poems*, ed. Grosart, p. 154), "Fayr wordes they say, make fooles to faine"; Leonard Gibson, "A very proper Dittie," *ca.* 1570 (*A Collection of Seventy-Nine Black-Letter Ballads and Broadsides*, 1867, p. 116), "And fayre wordes paynted, as dames can define, The old prouerbe saith, doth make some fooles faine"; Whetstone, *The Rock of Regard*, 1576 (Collier's reprint, p. 244, marginal note), "Faire words makes fooles faine"; Lyly, *Euphues*, 1579 (*Works*, ed. Bond, I, 215), "Heere you may see gentlemen the falshood in felowship . . . y[e] faire woords that make fooles faine"; Thomas Churchyard, *Churchyardes Charge*, 1580 (Collier's reprint, p. 15), "faire woords maks fooles full fain"; Lyly, *Euphues and his England*, 1580 (*Works*, II, 227), "Fayre words fatte fewe"; Anthony Munday, *The Pleasant Comedy of Two Italian Gentlemen*, 1584, G[v] (Malone Society reprint), "Commonly faire fooles make wordes and perswasions to be faine"; Michael Drayton, "To Prouerbe" (*Idea*, 1602, sonnet 58, *Minor Poems*, ed. Brett, p. 45), "*In loue there is no lacke, thus I beginne? Faire words makes fooles, replieth he againe?*"; J. Gruter, 1611, II, 176, "Fayre woords, make fooles fayne"; Camden's *Proverbs*, 1614, p. 322, "Fair words make fools fain." In his comments on the Court, Edwards is mild. Much more striking is the invective Churchyard uttered in various ballads that appeared in 1565–66, almost simultaneously with "Fair Words." For his ballads see my *Analytical Index*, No. 306. In one of them, "Churchyardes Lamentacion of Freyndshyp," 1566 (Collmann's *Ballads*, p. 85), he echoes Edwards's proverbial title by saying,

> And to be shorte fayre wordes is all
> The fruite that from the tree dothe fall.

10. 18, 19, 21 *me.*, *see.*, *entise.* The periods should be omitted or else changed to commas.

22 *To thinke al golde that shines, &c.* I. e., do entice the simple to think that all that shines is gold, in order to feed their (the simple's) foolish desire. A very common proverb. Cf. Chaucer, *The Canon's Yeoman's Tale* (G. 962 f.), "But al thing which that shyneth as the gold Nis nat gold, as that I have herd it told," and *The House of Fame*, i. 272, "Hit is not al gold, that glareth"; *John Bon and Mast person*, 1547 (Hazlitt's *Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England*, IV [1866], 15), "al is not golde that hath a fayre glosse"; Nicholas Udall, *Ralph Roister Doister*, *ca.* 1554, v. i. (ed. W. D. Cooper, p. 79, Shakespeare Society, 1847), "nowe I see truthe in the proverbe olde, All things that shineth is not by and by pure golde"; Heywood's *Works*, 1562, p. 22, "All is not golde that glisters by tolde tales"; Turbervile, *Epitaphes*, 1567 (Collier's reprint, p. 55), "Not every thing that gives a gleame and glittering showe, Is to be counted gold in deede; this proverb well you knowe"; *The Trial of Treasure*, 1567, A3^{v} (*Tudor Facsimile Texts*), "it is not golde alwayes that doth shine"; Whetstone, *The Rock of Regard*, 1576 (Collier's reprint, p. 84), "she thought all was gold that glittered"; Spenser, *Faery Queen*, 1590, ii. 8. 14, "Yet gold al is not, that doth golden seeme"; Porter, *The Two Angry Women of Abingdon*, 1599, H3^{v} (*Tudor Facsimile Texts*), "I see al is not gold that glisters"; *England's Helicon*, 1600 (ed. Bullen, p. 210), "All is not gold that shineth bright in show"; J. Gruter, 1611, II, 173, "All is not gold that glisters"; Rowley and Middleton, *A Fair Quarrel*, 1617, v. i, "All is not gold that glistereth in bed"; "The true Lovers Summons," *ca.*1656 (Rollins, *Cavalier and Puritan*, 1923, p. 430), "All's not Gold that's bright"; Charlotte Brontë, *Jane Eyre*, chapter xxiv, "It is an old saying that 'all is not gold that glitters.'" A lost play mentioned in Philip Henslowe's *Diary* (ed. Greg, II, 217) in 1601 was called "All is not Gold that Glisters." See, further, Skeat's Chaucer, v, 429; the commentators on *The Merchant of Venice*, II. vii. 65; and Draxe, 1616, p. 377.

26 *where deedes insue faire woordes.* This is the motif of No. 18 (p. 21).

27 *that busshes geues for birdes.* A reference to the well-known proverb (repeated at 86.3) of beating the bush and missing the birds, for which see Heywood's *Works*, 1562, p. 7; the *Handful*, p. 109; the *Gorgeous Gallery*, p. 179; and Draxe, 1616, pp. 374, 383, 390.

29 *strike it, whyle the iron is hotte.* A proverb. Cf. Chaucer, *Troilus and Criseyde*, ii. 1275 f., "Pandare . . . Felte iren hoot, and he bigan to smyte," and *The Tale of Melibeus* (B. 2225 f.), "right so as whyl that iren is hoot, men sholden smyte"; Heywood's *Works*, 1562, p. 6, "And one good lesson to this purpose I pike From the smithis forge, whan thyron is hot strike"; Spenser, letter to Gabriel Harvey, 1579, "For, whiles the yron is hote, it is good striking," and Harvey to Spenser, 1579, "Your hotte yron, is so hotte, that it striketh mee to the hearte, I dare not come neare to strike it" (Grosart's Harvey, I, 7, 20); Lodge, *The Life and Death of William Longbeard*, 1593, C4 (*Works*, ed. Hunterian Club, II. iv. 27), "William, that saw the iron readie to

wax hot, and the hammers readie to strike, began to remember himselfe"; Shakespeare, *3 Henry VI*, v. i. 49, "Nay, when? strike now, or else the iron cools"; J. Gruter, 1611, II, 186, "When the Iron is hot, stryke"; Henry Hutton, *Follie's Anatomie*, 1619, p. 56 (Percy Society, vol. VI, 1842), "He wisely strikes now whilst the iron's hot"; Farquhar, *The Beaux' Stratagem*, IV. ii (iv in some editions), "Strike while the iron is hot." See also Draxe, 1616, p. 400; James Mabbe's *The Rogue*, 1623 (ed. J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, III [1924], 131); Martin Parker's ballad, "A Prouerbe old, yet nere forgot, Tis good to strike while the Irons hott" (*ca.* 1625), in my *Pepysian Garland* (1922), p. 229; and the *Roxburghe Ballads*, I, 426, II, 558.

10. 31 *gapes*. The period should be a comma.

11. 6 *no faire*. Read *not fair*, with *B*+.

11 (No. 8) *In his extreame sycknesse*. In every edition (sigs. B2–B2^{v} in *B–D*, B2 in *E*, B^{v} in *F–I*), and attributed in each to Lord Vaux.

17 *in sorowes linkes betyde*. The *N. E. D.* gives only this example (from the 1578 edition of the *Paradise* instead of from *A*) of *betied*, meaning tied round, tied fast.

23 *by life*. Read *my life*, with *B*+.

12. 2 (No. 9) *For Christmas day*. In every edition (sigs. B2^{v} in *B–E*, B2 in *F–I*), and attributed in each to Francis Kinwelmarsh. Reprinted in Farr's *Select Poetry*, II, 291. Other versions (with music) occur in William Byrd's *Songs of Sundry Natures* (1589, 1610), where the chorus is song 24 and the poem itself song 35 (the words are reprinted in Wilhelm Bolle's *Die gedruckten englischen Liederbücher bis 1600*, pp. 32 f. [*Palaestra*, XXIX, 1903], and in E. H. Fellowes's *English Madrigal Verse*, 1920, p. 58, and both the words and the music in Fellowes's *English Madrigal School*, XV [1920], pp. xviii, 135–144). Byrd's music for the chorus may be found also in Bodleian MS. Mus. f. 11, No. 24; and an eighteenth-century copy of the song, with musical score, is in Additional MS. 23,626, fols. 45, 75^{v}. A copy, without music, in Additional MS. 15,225, fol. 47^{v}, is reprinted in my *Old English Ballads* (1920), pp. 238 f. Collations with the last version (*R*) and with that of Fellowes (*X*) are given below:

12. 2 For] A Carall For *R*, A Carowle for *X*
3–4 The refrain comes at the end of each stanza in *X*
4 Christes] Christ his *R*
5 dyd] to vs did *R*
16 guiltie] guilt of *R*
17–19 Christes] Christ his *RX*
19 Of] In *R*
21 all] sweet *X*
24 O] and *R*
25 like] let *R*
26 day] day to vs *R*, day to man *X*: did] doth *X*
27 let] and *X*
28 The ioy] These joys *X*: Christes] Christ his *RX*
29 F. K.] *Om. R*, Francis Kindlemarsh *X*

12. 4 *Christes*. The genitive case, of course. So in lines 17–19 and 28.

5 *this day dyd*. Read *this day to us did*, with *R*, for the sake of metre.

26 *that this day*. Read *that this day to us*, with *R*, for the sake of metre.

27 *Shalme*. I. e., shawm, a hautboy or "waits." Nicholas Whight, in "A Commendation of Musicke," 1562–63 (Collmann's *Ballads*, p. 275), informs us that "*Pan* the Pype, *Apollo* eke, the Shalme he did inuent."

13. 2 (No. 10) *Easter day*. In every edition (sigs. B3 in *B–D*, B2^{v}–B3 in *E*, B2–B2^{v} in *F–I*), and assigned in each to Jasper Heywood.

5 *By death, with death, &c.* By his death Christ has redeemed you; let us sing to Him that hath appeased God's wrath with (his) death.

20 *Paul*. I. e., I Corinthians xv. 13–14, "But if there be no resurrection of the dead, then is Christ not risen: And if Christ be not risen, then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain."

24 A line rhyming with *light* is missing here in all the editions, the stanza having only seven lines instead of eight.

14. 2 (No. 11) *For Whitsunday*. In every edition (sigs. B3–B3^{v} in *B–D*, B3 in *E*, B2^{v} in *F–I*), and assigned in each to Francis Kinwelmarsh. Reprinted in Farr's *Select Poetry*, II, 292.

13 *Thou art my God, &c.* This and the following stanza are wrongly arranged. Lines 13–14, 15–16, 20–21, and 22–23 respectively should be printed in one line, as in *B+*.

20 *My lippes, &c.* See 14.13 n.

28 (No. 12) *Who mindes to bring, &c.* In every edition (sigs. B4–B4^{v} in *B–D*, B3^{v}–B4 in *E*, B3–B3^{v} in *F–I*), and assigned in each to Jasper Heywood.

32 *Nought woorth is wit, &c.* Proverbial. Cf. Churchyard, "Churchyardes farewell," 1566 (Collmann's *Ballads*, p. 89), "As witte is neuer good till it bee deerely bought"; Lyly, *Euphues*, 1579 (*Works*, ed. Bond, I, 185), "It hath bene an olde sayed sawe, and not of lesse truth then antiquitie, that witte is the better if it bee the deerer bought"; Porter, *The Two Angry Women of Abingdon*, 1599, H3^{v} (*Tudor Facsimile Texts*), "bought wit is best"; John Bodenham, *Belvedere*, 1600, B7^{v}, "Time shewes the truth, and wit that's bought is best"; J. Gruter, 1611, II, 188, "Witt is neuer good til it be bought"; the title and refrain of a ballad of 1634 (Rollins, *Analytical Index*, No. 2974), printed in the *Roxburghe Ballads*, III, 63, "Wit's never good till 'tis bought"; John Taylor, *Epigrammes*, 1651, A5^{v}, "They say, Wit's never good till it be bought, And being bought too deare it proves stark naught." See also the *Mirror for Magistrates*, 1587 (ed. Haslewood, I [1815], 45), "Wit nought auayles late bought with care and cost"; and Hazlitt's *English Proverbs*, p. 496.

33 *no wysedome but in hoarie heares*. Cf. The Wisdom of Solomon iv. 9, "wisdom is the gray hair unto men, and an unspotted life is old age"; Proverbs xvi. 31, "The hoary head is a crown of glory." Compare also Thomas Wilson, *The Arte of Rhetorique*, 1560 (ed. G. H. Mair, 1909, p. 83), "For (as the Wiseman saith) a mans wisedome is the greye heares"; Thomas Dekker,

Satiro-mastix, 1602 (ed. Hans Scherer, 1907, p. 54), "*Haire?* It's the basest stubble; in scorne of it, This Prouerbe sprung, *he has more haire then wit*"; Shakespeare, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, III. i. 361, "She hath more hair than wit," and *The Comedy of Errors*, II. ii. 83 f., "Why, but there's many a man hath more hair than wit."

15. 2 *I may of wysedome oft define.* For *oft* read *ought* (i. e., aught), with *F*+.

6 *Feare God, &c.* A marginal MS. note in *B* says, "rules of a wary life." Various lines in this poem (see also the notes to pp. 108–110) come either from Dionysius Cato's distichs or from the brief precepts that precede them. In this line there is a reference to his precept, "Deo supplica." Cf. also the *Disticha*, i. 1.

7 *Be freend to all, familier but to fewe.* This passage is echoed by "A most excellent new Dittie, wherein is shewed the sage sayinges, and wise sentences of Salomon," 1586 (Collmann's *Ballads*, p. 249; *Roxburghe Ballads*, II, 540),

> Be friendly vnto euery man,
> but vnto few familiar be;

and by the advice Polonius gives to Laertes (*Hamlet*, I. iii. 61 ff.),

> Be thou familiar, but by no means vulgar.
> Those friends thou hast, and their adoption tried,
> Grapple them to thy soul with hoops of steel.

The entire poem is in the best sententious, moralizing vein of Lyly.

8 *Too light of credite, &c.* Cf. 110. 10; and Cato's precept, "Nihil temere credideris."

10 *eye.* Read *eyes*, with *E*+, for the sake of rhyme. With lines 10–11 compare my *Old English Ballads* (1920), p. 228,

> Search not in other men too neare,
> first see that thou thy selfe bee cleare;

and Cato's *Disticha*, i. 30, "Quæ culpare soles, ea tu ne feceris ipse: Turpe est doctori, cum culpa redarguit ipsum."

12 *Of medling much, dooth mischiefe oft aryse.* Cf. the proverb discussed at 94. 19 n.

15 *beware of had I wist.* See 7.13 n.

16 *So spend thy good, &c.* Cf. Cato's precept, "Rem tuam custodi"; also the *Disticha*, i. 24, ii. 17: "Ne tibi quid desit, quæsitis utere parce; Utque, quod est, serves; semper tibi deesse putato"; "Utere quæsitis modice, cum sumptus abundat, Labitur exiguo, quod partum est tempore longo."

17 *Haukes, doo soare from emptie fist.* Proverbial. Cf. Chaucer, *The Wife of Bath's Prologue* (D. 415), "With empty hand men may none haukes lure," and *The Reeve's Tale* (A. 4134), "With empty hand men may na haukes tulle." In his notes on these lines Skeat (Chaucer's *Complete Works*, V, 302)

cites John of Salisbury (*Policraticus*, v. 10), "Veteri celebratur proverbio: Quia vacuæ manus temeraria petitio est"; and Lydgate (cf. Furnivall, *Political, Religious, and Love Poems*, E. E. T. S., 1866, p. 25), "with empty hand men may no hawkes lure." See also Heywood's *Works*, 1562, p. 54, "With emptie handes men maie no haukes allure"; and Draxe, 1616, p. 394, "Empty hands no hawkes allure."

15. 18 *Cut out thy coate, according to thy cloth.* Proverbial. Cf. the preface to Hugh Latimer's *Sermons*, 1549 (ed. Arber, p. 51, *English Reprints*, 1869), "Cut thy coat after the mesure"; Heywood's *Works*, 1562, p. 16, "I shall Cut my cote after my cloth"; Anthony Munday, *A Banquet of Dainty Conceits*, 1588 (*Harleian Miscellany*, IX [1812], 223), "According to cloth, so cut out thy coate"; *A Health to the Gentlemanly profession of Seruingmen*, 1598 (Hazlitt, *Inedited Tracts*, 1868, p. 153), "you . . . cannot be content to shape your Coate according to your Cloth"; J. Gruter, 1611, II, 175, "Cut your cote after your cloth"; Camden's *Proverbs*, 1614, p. 320, "Cut your coat after your cloth"; Draxe, 1616, p. 365, "A Man must cut his coat according to his cloth"; John Fletcher, *Beggars' Bush*, 1622, IV. i, "Keep yourself right, and even cut your cloth, sir, According to your calling." See also the quotation from Lyly cited at 83.9 n.

20 *Beleeue not him, &c.* Cf. Shakespeare, *3 Henry VI*, IV. iv. 30, "trust not him that hath once broken faith."

21 *Nor yet of gift, &c.* Cf. Cato's precept, "Cui des videto."

22 *Time quickly slips.* Cf. the proverb, "The tide will not tarrie," in the *Handful*, line 332, and "The tide tarrieth no man," in Hazlitt's *English Proverbs*, p. 400; and see 111.6 n.

23 *Of wanton youth . . . painefull age.* This is the motif of No. 17 (p. 19).

16. 3 *Vnconstant is the womans waueryng minde.* Cf. *Hamlet*, I. ii. 146, "Frailty, thy name is woman"; Tennyson, *Queen Mary*, III. vi, "My Lord, you know what Virgil sings, Woman is various and most mutable"; Virgil, *Æneid*, iv. 569, "Varium et mutabile semper Femina."

6–8 *The aged man is like, &c.* After the Introduction was paged and the Notes were in galley-proof, I happened to read in the Bodleian Library the exceedingly rare copy of Brian Melbancke's *Philotimus. The Warre betwixt Nature and Fortune* (1583), and at once noticed that it contains a large number of remarkable borrowings — all printed as prose — taken without acknowledgment from the *Paradise*. Thus, on signature Bb2^{v} are lines 6–8: "The aged man is like the barren soyle, a woman is a reede that wagges with euery winde, no trust is to be found in tender yeares, the surety of all ages is vnsound." See also the notes on 28.30, 29.30, 52.17, 95.16, 120.22, where I point out the most striking cases of similar borrowings. They should be read in connection with my comments (pp. xxxi ff.) on the reputation of the *Paradise*.

15 (No. 13) *Of the vnconstant stay of fortunes giftes.* In every edition (sigs. B4^{v}–C in *B–D*, B4^{v} in *E*, B4 in *F–I*), and assigned in each to F. K.

(Francis Kinwelmarsh). After the title a MS. note in *B* adds, "vid. 34" (i. e., No. 31 in the present edition).

16. 16 *If Fortune, &c.* See H. R. Patch, *The Tradition of the Goddess Fortuna*, in *Smith College Studies in Modern Languages*, III (1922), 131–235. On Fortune's wheel cf. 32.29.

22–23 *Rocke . . . on the sandes.* A reference to the parable of the wise man who built on a rock and the foolish man who built on the sand (Matthew vii. 24–27).

31 *by Fortune.* Read *by virtue*, with *B*+.

17. 2 (No. 14) *Promise is debt.* In every edition (sigs. C in *B–D*, $B4^{v}$–C in *E*, B4–$B4^{v}$ in *F–I*), and assigned in each to Richard Hill. The title is proverbial. Cf. Chaucer, *The Man of Law's Tale* (B. 41), "Biheste is dette, and I wol holde fayn Al my biheste." In his note on this passage Skeat (Chaucer's *Complete Works*, v, 136) quotes *Everyman* (Dodsley-Hazlitt, *Old Plays*, I, 137), "Yet promise is debt," and Hoccleve's *Regement of Princes*, 1412 (*Works*, ed. Furnivall, III, 64, E. E. T. S.), "And of a trewë man be-heste is dette." Cf. also Publilius Syrus, maxim 528 (C. Zell's edition, 1829, p. 18), "Ne plus promittas quam præstare possiet"; Cato's *Disticha*, i. 25, "Quod præstare potes, ne bis promiseris ulli; Ne sis ventosus, dum vis urbanus haberi"; Gascoigne, *Certain Notes of Instruction* (*Complete Poems*, ed. Hazlitt, I, 500), "since promise is debt"; Gabriel Harvey, *Four Letters and Certain Sonnets*, 1592 (*Works*, ed. Grosart, I, 174), "Promise is debt: and I hadd rather perfourme, then promise any thinge"; and Draxe, 1616, p. 404, "Promise is debt." Cf. 21.20–21 and 127.19 n.

The poem is written in the six-line iambic pentameter stanza, rhyming *ababcc*, that Spenser had used in the first and last eclogues of *The Shepherds' Calendar* (1579), Thomas Howell in many pieces in his *H. His Deuises* (1581), and Shakespeare in *Venus and Adonis* (1593). It is the favorite stanza in the *Paradise*, no fewer than seventeen poems being written in that form, — Nos. 14, 16, 17, 34, 45, 47, 68, 71, 79, 82, 87, 91, 97, 115, 118, 119, 120. There are also some ten poems (cf. 22.13 n.) in which a stanza of six tetrameter lines rhyming *ababcc* is used.

12 *Aste.* Read *As to*, with *B*+.

15–17 *O freendly league, &c.* Mr. Kittredge paraphrases as follows: "'O friendly alliance! Although it is a pity that our troth (friendly alliance) didn't begin earlier (in our lives), yet time will prove that we have profitably used (utilized) it,'—i. e., got much good out of it for that period during which we have (or shall have) stood in this relation to each other."

16 *is well.* Read *as well*, with *B*+.

20 *That.* Read *That always*, with *B*+.

22 (No. 15) *No woordes, but deedes.* In every edition (sigs. C–C^{v} in *B–D*, C in *E*, $B4^{v}$ in *F–I*), and assigned in each to R. D. With the title compare Shakespeare, *Henry VIII*, III. ii. 153 f., "'tis a kind of good deed to say well: And yet words are no deeds," and *Richard III*, I. iii. 532, "Talkers are no good

doers"; Draxe, 1616, p. 375, "Doing is better then saying"; Fletcher, *The Lovers' Progress*, 1623, III. i, "Like to a torrent, deeds, not words, shall speak me"; James Mabbe, *Celestina*, 1631 (ed. H. W. Allen [1908], p. 237)," I will see whether sayings and doings eat together at your table, whether deeds and words sit both at one board with you"; Samuel Butler, *Hudibras*, 1663, I. i. 867, "Of deeds, not words"; Longfellow, *Hiawatha*, pt. ix, "Deeds are better things than words are." See also the title of No. 18 (p. 21).

17. 23–24 *The wrong . . . That yeeldes such care, &c.* "The injury (done me) is great, the pain above my power (to bear), which causes me such anxiety lest I may drown in pits of doubt, — i. e., lose your friendship because you suspect me of being false (cf. line 32)." — G. L. K.

28 *that yet.* The metre and sense seem to require *that never yet.*

18. 3 *other hath not.* The reading of *B*+, *hath not been*, sounds smoother.

4 *is approued.* The reading of *B*+, *not approved*, is unwarranted. The passage in *A* means, What have I ever done to prove my faithfulness that requires any further test on your part? That is, haven't I already proved it without more tests?

17 *a dogge shall haue a day.* A proverb. Cf. *A New Enterlude of Godly Queene Hester, ca.* 1529 (ed. W. W. Greg, 1904, p. 26), "A prouerbe as men say a dogge hath a day," "But as I say, a dogge hath a day"; Heywood's *Works*, 1562, p. 30, "But as euery man saith, a dog hath a daie"; *New Custom*, 1573, D^{v}, "Well if it chaunce that a dogge hath a daye"; Timothy Kendall, *Flowers of Epigrammes*, 1577, P5 (ed. Spenser Society, p. 249), "the prouerbe old doth say . . . *a dog may haue a day*"; Anthony Munday, *The Pleasant Comedy of Two Italian Gentlemen*, 1584, F4^{v} (Malone Society reprint), "I am as wearie of my cariage as a Dogge of his day"; Gabriel Harvey, *Four Letters and Certain Sonnets*, 1592 (*Works*, ed. Grosart, I, 197), "a dog hath a day"; Thomas Nashe, *Summer's Last Will*, 1592 (*Works*, ed. McKerrow, III, 254), "no dog but hath his day"; Porter, *The Two Angry Women of Abingdon*, 1599, E3 (*Tudor Facsimile Texts*), "a dogge hath his day"; John Day, *The Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green, ca.* 1600 (1659 ed., reprinted by W. Bang, 1902, p. 29), "but all's one, a dog has his day, and I shall have mine too"; *Hamlet*, v. i. 315, "The cat will mew and dog will have his day"; J. Gruter, 1611, II, 172, "A dog hath a day"; Camden's *Proverbs*, 1614, p. 316, "A dog hath a day"; Draxe, 1616, p. 377, "A dogge hath a day (namely of reuenge)"; John Taylor, *Works*, 1630 (ed. Spenser Society, p. 369), "Thus the old Prouerbe is fulfilled, *A Dogge shall haue his day*"; a mutilated ballad of the date 1638 (Rollins, *Analytical Index*, No. 946) preserved in the *Roxburghe Ballads*, I, 135, "Let's spend while we may; Each dog hath his day." In *The Poems of Mildmay, 2^{d} Earl of Westmoreland. (1648.)*, ed. Grosart, 1879, p. 86, is the remark that "Each thing below here hath its day, As in the Proverb's said." Cf. Hazlitt's *English Proverbs*, p. 129, "Every dog hath its day."

19 (No. 16) *He desyreth exchange of lyfe.* In every edition (sigs. C^{v}–C2

in *B–E*, C–C^{v} in *F–I*), and assigned in each to Lord Vaux. On the stanza-form see 17.2 n.

18. 23 *Aliue as dead, &c.* The antithetical tone of the poem suggests the reading *Aliue and dead*. For *sowe* read *see*, with *B*+.

25 *Whyle grasse dooth growe, &c.* A proverb, which is repeated at 29.33. Cf. Richard Hill, *Songs*, *ca.* 1536, pp. 128, 132, "While the grasse grwith, the hors sterwith," "Dum gramen cressit, equus in moriendo quiescit"; Heywood's *Works*, 1562, p. 30, "while the grasse groweth the horse sterueth"; Whetstone, *The Rock of Regard*, 1576 (Collier's reprint, p. 136), "The proverbe saith, whilst grasse doth growe, For want of foode the steede doth sterve"; Nicholas Breton, *A Floorish upon Fancie*, 1582 (ed. Park, p. 217), "But while the grasse dooth grow, oft times the silly steede he sterves"; Geoffrey Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes*, 1586 (ed. Henry Green, 1866, p. 26), "While grasse doth growe, the courser faire doth sterue"; *The Passionate Morrice*, 1593 (ed. Furnivall, p. 89, New Shakspere Society, 1876), "while the grasse growes the steed starues"; Bodenham, *Belvedere*, 1600, L4^{v}, "While grasse doth grow, the labouring Steed may starue"; *Hamlet*, III. ii. 358, "'While the grass grows, —' the proverb is something musty"; J. Gruter, 1611, II, 187, "While the grass growith the horse starueth"; Camden's *Proverbs*, 1614, p. 335, "While the grass groweth the horse starveth"; Draxe, 1616, p. 375, "Whiles that the grasse groweth, the steed sterueth"; John Taylor, *Works*, 1630, Dd2^{v} (ed. Spenser Society, p. 198), "Yet the old prouerbe I would haue them know, The horse may starue the whilst the grasse doth grow." Cf. also Hazlitt's *English Proverbs*, p. 480, "When the horse is starved, you bring him oats."

26 *I rome the race.* The reading of *E*+, *I run the race*, seems preferable.

31 *I watch the net, &c.* This has a proverbial sound, though I do not recall having seen the phrase elsewhere. But see 86.4.

19. 2–3 *the greedy dogge doth gnaw, &c.* See 29.30 n.

5 *fled.* Read *fed*, with *B*+.

6 *Narsissus, &c.* For a ballad on Narcissus see the *Handful*, pp. 29–31. The poet evidently means: I, forst (farced, stuffed) with fancies and fed with unsubstantial food, — as Narcissus at the fountain, who enjoyed only the shadow and could not get the substance, — continually thirst, no matter how much I drink.

7 *So aye thirst I, &c.* Proverbial. Cf. Marcus Aurelius as translated from Don Anthony of Guevara by Sir Thomas North (*The Diall of Princes*, 1557, iii. 20, fol. 188^{v}), "I find, that the more I eate, the more I dye for honger, the more I drinke, the greater thirste I haue"; *Mirror for Magistrates*, 1578 (ed. Haslewood, I [1815], 423), "The more I dranke, the more thirst did me stil distresse."

9 *With smart vnseene, my selfe my selfe I weare.* With an invisible disease or sickness I myself exhaust myself.

13 *The more I haste, &c.* Proverbial. Cf. Heywood's *Works*, 1562, p. 5,

"hast maketh waste," "Moste times he seeth, the more haste the lesse speede"; J. Gruter, 1611, II, 185, "The more haste, the lesse speede"; Camden's *Proverbs*, 1614, p. 328, "More haste, worst speed"; Draxe, 1616, p. 386, "The more haste, the lesse speed"; Thomas Heywood, *Pleasant Dialogues and Dramma's*, 1637 (ed. W. Bang, 1903, p. 208), "The more haste, the worse speed"; Hazlitt's *English Proverbs*, p. 392.

19. 14 *in frozen yse to frye*. A conventional Elizabethan figure. Cf. Whetstone, *The Rock of Regard*, 1576 (Collier's reprint, p. 54), "I frye, yet frosen am, I freese amid the fire."

16 *is forste*. The inferred subject is indefinite: One who is fast fettered here is forced, &c.

27 (No. 17) *Of the instabilitie of youth*. In every edition (sigs. C2^{v}–C3 in *B–D*, C2–C2^{v} [this verso is wrongly lettered C3] in *E*, C^{v}–C2 in *F–I*), and assigned in each to Lord Vaux. After the title a MS. note in *B* adds, "Vid 75" (i. e., No. 108), while at No. 108 the same hand has written, "Vide cantum 18" (i. e., No. 17. Cf. 107. 12 n.). No. 17 is reprinted in Farr's *Select Poetry*, II, 302 f. In a greatly changed version of four stanzas, called "Another [elegy], wrote in the Tower, 1554," and attributed to John Harington (but it is improbable that he was the author), it appears also in *Nugæ Antiquæ*, 1769, pp. 97 f., III (1779, 1792), 271 f., II (1804), 333 f. The 1804 version omits stanza 2, and combines stanzas 4 and 5 thus:

> Thou that didst grant the wise kynge his request,
> Thou that of grace didst bring the blinde to sight,
> Thou that forgav'st the wounding of thy brest,
> Thou that in favour cam'st the worlde to lighte;
> Thou only good dispenser of all grace,
> Wype out the guilte that grew in youthe's green race.

In the other four stanzas the following variants from the text of No. 17 occur:

19. 30 markt] see
31 mette] meet: youth] I
33 O Lorde] My God: these faultes] youthe's fawlte
20. 9 Eke wysedome] Knowledge: a] the
10 And wit] Wysdom: that] what
11 her . . . her] his captive, brought in
12 Therefore] Wherefore
13 Pardon the faultes] Cancel those crymes
26 And] But: I . . . and] hope by grace with
27 Doo fly] Dothe presse: appease thy] assuage thine
28 that . . . onely] with truste to speede, I
29 And . . . my] Waitinge, through faythe, to' attain this
30 and] nor
31 And] But: thy] thyne

Too late to collate, I find another version, with neither title nor signature, in the so-called Harington MS. (Additional 28,635, fols. 12^{v}–13). On the stanza-form of No. 17 see 17.2 n.

19. 30 *markt.* In *DFHI* the reading is *marke*, which agrees well with *looke* (line 28) and with *mette* (line 31), meaning "I measure."

20. 8–19 *The humble hart, &c.* See 95.16 n.

14 *wyse king.* Solomon, of course; just as the prophet of line 15 is Jonah.

20 *didst rayse the dead.* See, e. g., Mark v. 35–43, and Luke viii. 49–56 (Jairus's daughter); Luke vii. 11–15 (the widow of Nain's son); John xi. 1–44 (Lazarus).

21 *the blinde to sight.* See Luke xviii. 35–43, and John ix. 1–39.

23 *madest the lame goe ryght.* See John v. 5–9.

21. 2–3 (No. 18) *Most happy is that state alone, Where woordes and deedes agree in one.* In every edition (sigs. C3–C3^{v} in *B–D*, C2^{v} [misprinted C3]–C3 [unmarked] in *E*, C2-C2^{v} in *F–I*), and assigned in each to Francis Kinwelmarsh. The words and the music of this song are reprinted by Sir John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, v (1776), 446–449. The poem is in heroic couplet; the division into stanzas of fourteen lines was probably made by the printer. In the margin *B* has various MS. notes, — "faire words," "faire shews," "true frendship," "no slaunder nor rash promise," "word & deede." On the title cf. 17.22 n.

8 *beawties blast.* In *B*+ the reading is *beauty's blaze* (i. e., reputation, fame), which seems preferable.

9 *In pleasaunt greene, doo stinging Serpent lye.* Obviously *serpent* should be *serpents*, as in *B*+. The phrase is almost proverbial: see 28.13, 67.27, 69.8. Cf. Virgil, *Eclogues*, iii. 92 f., "Qui legitis flores et humi nascentia fraga, Frigidus, O pueri, fugite hinc, latet anguis in herba"; Turbervile, *Epitaphes*, 1567 (Collier's reprint, pp. 120, 218), "As wylie adder lurcks in leaves and greenest grasse of all," "Even so in greene and pleasant grasse the serpent lies in wayte"; Alexander Montgomerie (*Poems*, ed. James Cranstoun, 1887, p. 176), "In plesand path I tred vpon the snaik"; Abraham Fleming, verses prefixed to Whetstone's *Rock of Regard*, 1576, "Take heede of the serpent that grovels in grasse; Th' experience is common, the proverbe not straunge"; Philip Stubbes, *The Anatomy of Abuses*, pt. ii, 1583 (ed. Furnivall, p. 7, New Shakspere Society), "*Sub placidis herbis latitat coluber*, vnder the pleasantest grasse, lurketh the venemoust adder"; Samuel Brandon, *The Virtuous Octavia*, 1598, A6^{v} (*Tudor Facsimile Texts*), "I should suspect a serpent mongst the flowers." See also Chaucer, *The Somnour's Tale* (D. 1994 f.) and *The Squire's Tale* (F. 512); Whitney's emblem in *A Choice of Emblemes*, 1586 (ed. Green, p. 24), on "*Latet anguis in herba*"; Shakespeare, *2 Henry VI*, III. i. 228; and the numerous examples cited in the *Handful*, pp. 35 f., and the *Gorgeous Gallery*, p. 186.

10 *The golden Pill, &c.* Cf. *Willobie His Avisa*, 1594, F3 (ed. Grosart, 1880, p. 53), "Braue Golde vpon a bitter pill"; James Mabbe, *The Rogue*, 1623 (ed. J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, 1924, I, 97, III, 40), "But those [troubles] . . . are gilded Pilles, which deceiving the sight with a false show of a savourie

taste, put the body out of order," "For with the finest gold, is the bitterest Pill covered." Nowadays the usual phrase is, "a sugar-coated pill."

21. 11 *In glittering glasse, a poyson, &c.* Cf. Lyly, *Euphues*, 1579 (*Works*, ed. Bond, I, 202, 222), "Doe we not commonly see that in paynted pottes is hidden the deadlyest poyson," "a sower poyson in a siluer potte," "a sweete poyson in a paynted potte"; Draxe, 1616, p. 380, "In golden pottes are hidden the most deadly poyson." *Ranckest plaste* means *rankest's* (rankest is) *placed.*

16–17 *That state . . . agree.* A similar idea,

> But there as wordes and deedes agree,
> Accept that frend, and credit mee,

is expressed in a ballad reprinted in my *Old English Ballads* (1920), pp. 223–225; in the *Maitland Folio Manuscript* (ed. Scottish Text Society), pp. 287 f.; and in John Forbes's *Cantus, Songs and Fancies*, 2d ed., 1666, song vii.

20 *Let not . . . thy promise be more large.* Cf. 17.2 n.

23 *two faces in one hoode.* Proverbial. Cf. John Skelton, *The Bowge of Courte* (*Poetical Works*, ed. Dyce, I [1856], 56), "Than in his hode I sawe there faces tweyne," and *Magnyfycence* (*ibid.*, II, 34), "Two faces in a hode couertly I bere"; Richard Hill, *Songs, ca.* 1536, p. 130, "He hath II faces vnder on hode. *Sub facies vno binas habet ipse galiro*"; Heywood, *Works*, 1562, pp. 19, 138, "None better to beare two faces in one hood," "Thou berest two faces in one whood: Thou hast one yll face, both be not good"; Humfrey Gifford, "Of the Instability of Fortune" (*A Posie of Gilloflowers*, 1580, L2^{v}, *Complete Poems*, ed. Grosart, p. 92),

> The wauering winds, which blow now here now there,
> More constant are then fortunes flattering vowes,
> Who in one hoode, a double face doth beare;

Mabbe, *The Rogue*, 1623 (ed. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, IV [1924], 300), "he is a man, that carries two faces under one hood." Cf. also Hazlitt's *English Proverbs*, p. 290, "May the man be damned and never grow fat, who wears two faces under one hat."

25 *to lose.* Read *to loss*, with *B*+.

22. 4 *last . . . not least.* Still a common proverbial phrase. Typical Elizabethan examples of its use are in Spenser's *Colin Clout*, 1595, line 444, "And there, though last not least, is Aetion"; and in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, III. i. 189, "Though last, not least in love," and *King Lear*, I. i. 85, "Although the last, not least."

6 *barren groundes, bringes foorth but rotten weedes.* A favorite Elizabethan simile. It is slightly varied in Turbervile's *Epitaphes*, 1567 (Collier's reprint, p. 8), "How coulde so barraine soyle bring forth so good a grasse," and in Samuel Brandon's *Virtuous Octavia*, 1598, C3 (*Tudor Facsimile Texts*), "I seeke not graines of gould in barraine ground."

9 *by tryed freendes.* Read *by trial soon*, with *B*+.

22. 13 (No. 19) *Who wyll aspire to dignitie, &c.* In every edition (sigs. C3^{v}–C4 in *B–D*, C3 [the preceding page, C2^{v}, is wrongly lettered C3] in *E*, C2^{v} in *F–I*), and assigned in each to Francis Kinwelmarsh. The poem is written in a modification of the *Venus and Adonis* stanza, — with a tetrameter instead of a pentameter movement (cf. 17.2 n.), — which frequently appears elsewhere in the *Paradise*, as in Nos. 20, 22, 36, 48, 50, 58, 116, 117, 123.

23. 7 *learned men shall neuer want.* Draxe (1616, p. 392) includes among his adages, "A learned man cannot want."

15 (No. 20) *Mans flitting life, &c.* In every edition (sigs. C4 in *B–D*, C3^{v} in *E*, C3 in *F–I*), and assigned in each to M. T. (Master Thorn). After each stanza *B* adds a MS. note, — "ech thinge yeldeth to time," "ech thing yeldeth to poli[cy]," "tyme consumeth," "vertue endureth." On the stanza-form see 22.13 n. The first two stanzas appear also in Richard Alison's *An Howres Recreation in Musicke*, 1606 (E. H. Fellowes, *English Madrigal Verse*, 1920, p. 8). There are only two verbal differences: for *With* (line 20) and *Is caught at length* (line 26) Alison has *By* and *At length is caught*. No. 20 was reprinted in Percy's *Reliques*, 1765 (ed. Wheatley, II [1876], 169 f.); in Ellis's *Specimens*, 1790, pp. 67 f. (from Percy), II (1801), 123 f., (1803), 151; and in Farr's *Select Poetry*, II, 310.

In *E–H* the key-word preceding this poem (which in them begins at the top of a page) is misprinted "12. Mans" for "21. Mans." In *I* the mistake is corrected.

19 *The Marble stone, is pearst at length, &c.* A commonplace which goes back to classic times: e. g., Ovid, *Epistolæ ex Ponto*, ii. 7. 39–40, iv. 10. 5 ("utque caducis Percussu crebro saxa cavantur aquis," "Gutta cavat lapidem"), and *Ars Amatoria*, i. 476 ("Dura tamen molli saxa cavantur aqua"). Cf. also Hugh Latimer, *Sermons*, 1549 (ed. Arber, p. 201, *English Reprints*, 1869), "*Gutta cauat lapidem, non ui sed sœpe cadendo*. The droppe of raine maketh a hole in the stone, not by violence, but by ofte fallynge"; Turbervile, *Epitaphes*, 1567 (Collier's reprint, p. 40), "For often drops of falling raine, in time doe pierce the flint"; Robert Greene, Doralicia's ditty in *Arbasto*, 1584 (*Works*, ed. Grosart, III, 248), "In tyme we see that silver drops The craggy stones make soft"; Thomas Kyd, *The Spanish Tragedy*, *ca.* 1585, II. i. 6, "In time the Flint is pearst with softest shower"; Bodenham, *Belvedere*, 1600, D4, D6, N2, "As water-drops will pearce the hardest flint," "In fairest stone small raine soone makes a print," "As hardest stones are pierc'd with softest drops." Many other examples are given in my *Gorgeous Gallery*, pp. 152 f. Commonplaces also are "The sturdy Rocke" (line 17), "The Oxe" (line 21, and cf. Jonson's parody of *The Spanish Tragedy* in his *Tale of a Tub*, III. iv), and the remaining figures in the poem. For numerous parallels to them see F. S. Boas's notes in his edition of *The Works of Thomas Kyd* (1901), p. 398, and R. S. Forsythe's notes in the *Philological Quarterly*, V (1926), 80–84.

27 *The greatest Fishe, &c.* A commonplace that is derived from Martial's *Epigrams*, iv. 56. 5, "Sic avidis fallax indulget piscibus hamus."

23. 29 *Ye.* Read *Yea*, with *C*+. The word is cut off in *B*.

30 *All thinges are bounden to obay.* There may be a reference here to the proverb. Cf. Heywood's *Works*, 1562, p. 55, "they that are bound must obaie"; Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes*, 1586 (ed. Green, 1866, p. 101), "The Prouerbe saithe, the bounde muste still obey"; Porter, *The Two Angry Women of Abingdon*, 1599, D^{v} (*Tudor Facsimile Texts*), "he that is bound must obay"; J. Gruter, 1611, II, 186, "They that are bound must obay"; Draxe, 1616, pp. 369, 409, "They that are bound, must obey"; "The Batchelor's Triumph" (*Roxburghe Ballads*, III, 428), "They[re] bound and must obey"; "Jack the Plough-Lads Lamentation," 1654 (Rollins, *Cavalier and Puritan*, p. 363), "Ther's no honest man in Town nor in Citty, But if he be bound then he must obey." A ballad called "She's Bound but Won't Obey," *ca.* 1675, is preserved in the Rawlinson (fol. 14) and Wood (E. 25 [67]) collections in the Bodleian Library.

24. 2 *nothing, but time dooth wast.* I. e., nothing that time doesn't destroy. There is a reference here to Ovid's "tempus edax rerum" (*Metamorphoses*, xv. 234), numerous paraphrases and imitations of which are cited in my *Gorgeous Gallery*, pp. 193 f. To them might be added the amusing lines from John Philips's *Splendid Shilling* (1705),

> My *Galligaskins*, that have long withstood
> The Winter's Fury, and encroaching Frosts,
> By time subdu'd, (what will not time subdue!)
> A Horrid Chasm disclose.

11 (No. 21) *Nothing is comparable, &c.* In every edition (sigs. C4^{v}–D in *B–D*, C3^{v}–C4 in *E*, C3–C3^{v} in *F–I*), and assigned in each to Francis Kinwelmarsh. The poem is in heroic couplet; the printer may be responsible for the division into stanzas.

25. 14 *with me my Muse.* Read *with thee my Muse*, with *B*+.

17 (No. 22) *Respise finem.* In every edition (sig. D in *B–C*, D2–D2^{v} in *D*, D–D^{v} in *E*, C4^{v}–D in *F–I*), and assigned in each to D. S. (D. Sand). On the stanza-form see 22.13 n. With the proverbial title compare *Gesta Romanorum*, cap. 103 (ed. Oesterley, p. 431), "Quicquid agas, prudenter agas, et respice finem"; Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes*, 1586 (ed. Green, p. 130), "And Solon sai'd, *Remember still thy ende*"; Nashe, *Strange Newes*, 1592 (*Works*, ed. McKerrow, I, 268), "what a hell it is for him . . . to bee puld by the sleeue and bidde *Respice funem* [!], looke backe to his Fathers house"; a poem entitled "Respice Finem" (Farr's *Select Poetry*, II, 266), by G. C., author of *A Piteous Platforme of an Oppressed Mynde* (see *ibid.*, I, xxiv); La Fontaine, *Fables*, iii. 5, "En toute chose il faut considérer la fin"; Dekker, *Satiro-mastix*, 1602 (ed. Scherer, 1907, p. 49), "but come: *Respice funem* [!]; looke, thou seest"; the *Gorgeous Gallery*, p. 196; and III.6, 127.19.

There is a copy of the poem in Additional MS. 15,225, fols. 43^{v}–44^{v}, where it forms the second part of a ballad that was apparently registered in 1599 as

"The Table of Good Counsel" (Rollins, *Analytical Index*, No. 2577) and that is reprinted in my *Old English Ballads*, pp. 229–232. In that version the order is changed, so that stanzas 3 and 4 (25.30 – 26.11) precede stanzas 1 and 2 (25.18–29). The following verbal differences also occur:

25. 21 Whiche] whoe: or] of
28 dooth . . . they] doe this may the[y] happie
29 Their] the
30 happiest end] happie life
26. 2 eyther for Fame] all for gaine
3 in highest] highest in
4 of these thinges] in this life
7 standyng] stand the[y]
8 fewe] they
10 whereto] where: is] is in
12 that happy] the quiet
13 gouernaunce] gouernment
14 Who seekes] Which mooues
17 His] the
24 D. S.] *Om.*

A ballad preserved in MS. Cotton Vespasian A. xxv (ed. Boeddeker, *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Sprache*, N. F., II, 362) has a refrain resembling that of No. 22:

Yet hap what hap, fall what may fall,
A lyffe content excedethe all.

So one of the poems in Thomas Howell's *H. His Deuises*, 1581, $G3^v$ (*Poems*, ed. Grosart, p. 218), concludes,

Which proues what change or chaunce doe fall,
Contented meane exceedeth all.

In the margins of this poem in *B* there are several MS. notes, two of which have been clipped by the binder. Professor R. V. D. Magoffin has assisted me in transcribing these notes, but neither of us is wholly pleased with some of our readings: "[*some words cut off*] ante obitu*m* nemo superingerere facinera [= facinora] debet," "no Arguth [*or perhaps* Argume*nt*] against death," "contentation," "the longe*r* l[ife] y^e more si[n,] optimu*m* est non nasci, proxi[mum] vero cito mori."

25. 18 *Cato.* Cato Uticensis, 95–46 B. C.

26. 9 *prayse at parting.* A proverbial phrase which means, Praise your host when you say good-bye (for then you know that you have had good entertainment). In other words, only the past is secure, the future is uncertain. For examples see Haupt's *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Alterthum*, XI (1859), 127 (reprinting a twelfth-century MS.), "A uespre los len le ior, a matin son oste"; *Romania*, XIII (1884), 533 (from an early fourteenth-century MS.), "Au matyn hoste e au vespre loue le jour"; *Do Chevalier à l'Espée*, lines 415–419 (Méon, *Nouveau Recueil*, I, 140),

Li vilains dist en reprovier,
Si lou dient encor plusor,
Q'au vespre loe-l'en lo jor
Quant l'en voit que bele est la fin:
Si fet-l'en son oste au matin;

Child's *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, III, 278 (No. 158 A, stanza 27), "'But proue att parting,' Spencer sayes"; the title of Stephen Gosson's lost morality, *Praise at Parting* (before 1579); *Tom Tyler and his Wife*, 1661 ed. (Malone Society reprint, line 667), "It is an old saying, praise at the parting"; Porter, *The Two Angry Women of Abingdon*, 1599, $I4^{v}$ (*Tudor Facsimile Texts*), "but praise you lucké at parting"; Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, III. iii. 39, "Praise in departing"; Hazlitt's *English Proverbs*, p. 332, "Praise at parting, and behold well the end," "Praise day at night, and life at the end."

26. 10 *The thing whereto, &c.* Lines 10–11 are taken word for word from the concluding couplet of a poem, "A happy end excedeth all pleasures and riches of the worlde," in Tottel's *Miscellany*, 1557, p. 177.

15 *takes in woorth his happy chaunce.* The idiom "to take in worth" seems to be the opposite of "to take in idle," "to take in vain," phrases which literally meant "to regard as trivial," "to set a low value on." The present line, then, is equivalent to saying, "sets a properly high value on his good fortune." Cf. also 93.18 n.

25 (No. 23) *He perswadeth his freend, &c.* In every edition (sigs. D^{v} in *BC*, $D2^{v}$ in *D*, D^{v}–D2 in *E*, D–D^{v} in *F–I*). Every edition after that of 1576 (*A*) has two additional stanzas (cf. No. 101) and adds the signature "Tho. Churchyard."

27. 4 *prayes.* Read *prey* for the sake of rhyme. Cf. 100.19 n.

6–8 *noyse, dispraise.* In the old pronunciation this is not a faulty rhyme. Cf. 100.20–21 n.

10 *If leue and list might neuer cope.* Obviously *neuer* must (with *B*+) be changed to *euer:* If permission (gratification) and desire might ever strike a bargain. In *B*+ *leue* is, also, changed to *loue.*

11 *Nor youth to runne from reasons race.* The reading of *B*+, *Or youth might run in reason's race,* is preferable.

12 *Nor.* Read *Or,* with *B*+.

16 *little sparkes wyl prooue great fyre.* Proverbial. Cf. James iii. 5, "Behold, how great a matter a little fire kindleth"; Benedict Burgh's Cato, v. 459 (*Anglia*, XLII [1918], 205), "Off brondis smale be maad thes fires grete"; Richard Hill's *Songs, ca.* 1536, p. 130, "Of a lytill sparkyll, commeth a gret fyre. De modica magnus scintilla nascitur ignis"; Tottel's *Miscellany*, 1557, p. 196, "As smallest sparckes vncared for, To greatest flames dothe sonest growe"; *The First Booke of the Preservation of King Henry the vii*, 1599 (Collier's reprint, 1866, p. 63), "As litel hoat sparkles many times do kindel a fy-er"; Bodenham, *Belvedere*, 1600, D6, "And sparkes in time will kindle to a fire"; Draxe, 1616, p. 393, "Of a little sparke, a great fire"; Mabbe, *The*

Rogue, 1623 (ed. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, I [1924], 156), "from a little sparke, ariseth oftentimes a great flame"; Hazlitt's *English Proverbs*, p. 37, "A small spark makes a great fire"; and 100.25.

27. 17 *And bring free hartes, &c.* After this line two additional stanzas and the signature of Thomas Churchyard follow in *B*+ (= No. 101). Churchyard borrowed line 17 from the tragedy of "Shore's Wife" ("And brings free harts full oft to endlesse bond"), which in 1563 he contributed to the *Mirror for Magistrates* (ed. Haslewood, II [1815], 466).

19 (No. 24) *Wantyng his desyre, &c.* In every edition (sigs. D^{v}–D2 in *BC*, D3 in *D*, D2 in *E*, D^{v} in *F–I*), and assigned in each to Richard Edwards.

20 *at lenght.* Internal rhyme demands the reading *at last.*

22 *Hard hagard Haukes, &c.* A commonplace. Cf. Thomas Watson, *Hekatompathia*, 1582, sonnet 47, "In time all haggred Haukes will stoope the Lures"; Kyd, *The Spanish Tragedy*, *ca.* 1585, II. i. 4, "In time all haggard Hawkes will stoope to lure"; Mabbe, *The Rogue*, 1623 (ed. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, IV [1924], 106), "of a Haggard, she became a gentle Hawke; and though somewhat wilde and strange at first, yet now was she taught to come to my fist."

23 *There is nothing so out of vre, &c.* There is nothing so unusual (so contrary to custom) but long time makes it natural. Cf. the saying "Habit is second nature"; also Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, III. iv. 168, "For use almost can change the stamp of nature," and *Pericles*, prologue to act I (lines 29 f.), "But custom what they did begin Was with long use account no sin."

25 *the tree I clime, I can not catche the fruite.* More or less proverbial. Cf. 10. 5 n. Alexander Scott (*Poems*, ed. Cranstoun, p. 48, Scottish Text Society, 1896) has it,

> Sa bissely to busk I boun,
> Ane vthir eitis the berry doun
> That suld be myn.

30 *knowen.* This word must be monosyllabic to rhyme with *grone.*

32 *with tackle turne.* For *turne* read *torn*, with *B*+.

28. 7 (No. 25) *Trye before you trust.* In every edition (sigs. D2 in *BC*, D3–D3^{v} in *D*, D2–D2^{v} in *E*, D^{v}–D2 [misprinted D3 in *FG*] in *F–I*), and assigned in each to D. S. (D. Sand). The title is proverbial. Cf. 70.5, 89.5, 110.10; the *Handful*, line 1266, "First try, thē trust"; "The Virgin's A, B, C," 1656 (Rollins, *Analytical Index*, No. 2817; *Roxburghe Ballads*, II, 652), "First try, then trust"; Hazlitt's *English Proverbs*, p. 459.

13 *where stinging serpentes lye.* Cf. 21.9 n.

17 *grating talke.* The context shows that *grating* cannot mean irritating or anything else unpleasant. Probably *grating* is a misprint (caused by *greeting* in line 18) for *prating.*

18 *The third deceit, &c.* The third deception is words used in greeting, — words which, when adorned with false meaning, bid suspicion to fear no smart, to feel no doubt.

28. 25 *honnie in their mouthes, and venime in their mindes.* Cf. Draxe, 1616, p. 380, "Honie in the mouth, and poyson in the heart."

26 *the stones . . . crie out.* A reference to Luke xix. 40, "if these should hold their peace, the stones would immediately cry out." Cf. *Macbeth*, II. i. 58, "Thy very stones prate of my whereabout."

29 (No. 26) *A Lady forsaken, complayneth.* In every edition (sigs. D2^{v} in *BC*, D3^{v} in *D*, D2^{v} in *E*, D2 [misprinted D3 in *FG*] in *F–I*), and assigned in each to M. D.(?Master D. = R. D.).

30 ff. *If pleasures be in painefulnesse, &c.* Melbancke's *Philotimus*, 1583, Ee^{v} (cf. 16. 6–8 n.), borrows as follows: "If pleasures be in painfulnes, if ioyes accord with carefulnes, if mirth may be in miserie, if banishment bee libertie, then am I most pleasant, most ioifull, most merie, most free: but ay lady mercy, I am quite the contrary."

29. 5 *became.* There is some mix-up here; for, instead of *became*, which occurs again in line 6, we ought to have a rhyme-word for *heart.*

7 *except from louing.* Read *except for loving*, with *E*+. Lines 5–7 are underlined in *B*, and annotated, "quod crimen dicas p'ter amare meum."

8 *deserud.* The reading of *B*+, *deserve*, is better.

10 *my fained thoughts . . . my fained ruth.* Obviously, *fained* in the sense of *feigned* makes no sense, for the lady is insisting on her truth. The repetition of the word is suspicious (as is the rhyme — see the note following); but as first used it may possibly mean "pleased,"— i. e., the pleasant thoughts I entertained.

10–11 *thoughts, plaints.* Observe the faulty rhyme.

17 (No. 27) *Finding worldly ioyes, &c.* In every edition (sigs. D2^{v}–D3 in *BCE*, D3^{v}–D4 in *D*, D2 [misprinted D3 in FG]–D2^{v} in *F–I*), and assigned in each to F. M.

19 *By whom I doo lament, &c.* I. e., by whom (= Fate) injured, I lament my state with foolish, afflicted mind.

20 *and dare.* Possibly *I dare* should be the reading, though the sense is clear as the line stands.

23 *louing.* Read *living*, with *B*+.

30 ff. *A captiue clapt in chaynes of care, &c.* Melbancke's *Philotimus*, 1583, Ee2^{v} (cf. 16. 6–8 n.), combines this passage in remarkable fashion with 19. 2–3: "I am a captiue clapt in chaines of care, lapt in the lawes of lethall loue, & as the dogge all onely for the taste doth gnawe the bone: so forth I drawe this irked life with fancies vaine repaste. My corsiues comfort is but this, that as a siedged forte with forrein force, for want of ayde must yeelde at laste: so this my corps thus courst with cares, for want of ease shall quickly fade."

33 *Whiles grasse dooth growe, &c.* See 18.25 n.

34 *A seeged fort . . . must yeelde at last.* See 38.11 n.

37 *hop or death.* Read *hope of death*, with *D*+.

38 *He.* The word is badly blurred; it may be meant for *Ha-*, an abbreviation for *Having*, the proper key-word.

30. 2 (No. 28) *Hauing marryed a woorthy Lady, &c.* In every edition ($D3^v$–D4 in *BCE*, $D4^v$–E in *D*, D3–$D3^v$ in *F–I*), and assigned in each to F. G.

9 *spent.* Rhyme demands the reading *passed.*

14 *The.* Read *Then*, i. e., than, with *B*+.

19 *al which as one.* All beautiful women were to me as one, i. e., they made no personal appeal to me.

21 *eyes.* Rhyme demands the reading *eye.*

35 *of soden frowne.* I. e., by a sudden frown.

31. 11 (No. 29) *A woorthy dittie, &c.* In every edition (sigs. D4 in *BCE*, E–E^v in *D*, $D3^v$ in *F–I*), and assigned in each to D. S. (D. Sand). In *I* the title is changed to read *before the late Queenes, &c.* Queen Elizabeth reached Bristol August 14, 1574. Of the elaborate entertainment which the city provided for her a full account appears in Churchyard's *Churchyard's Chips*, 1575 (Collier's reprint, pp. 215–236), and thence in John Nichols's *Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, 1, 393, 396–407. The *Paradise* poem is also reprinted by Nichols (1, 406 f.), who transforms its author into "Daniel or David Sand"!

18 *match.* Read *matcht*, with *D*+.

19 *Enforse no feare, &c.* "Don't entertain forced fears in the breast of your quiet conscience by indulging in ingeniously twisted fancies. I.e., when your conscience is at rest, don't torment yourself with ingenious scruples or anxieties about what is right." — G. L. K.

32. 2 (No. 30) *His good name, &c.* In every edition (sigs. E2 in *BC*, E3 in *D*, E^v–E2 in *E*, E–E^v in *F–I*), and assigned in each to the Earl of Oxford.

3 *Fraud is, &c.* The line is metrically defective. In *B*+ it is changed to *Framed in the front of forlorn hope past all recovery*, where *framed* seems to be used in an unexampled sense of "drawn up" or "stationed." Evidently the reading in *A* is an allusion to Juvenal's "fronti nulla fides" (*Satires*, ii. 8), and the line means, Fraud is the forehead of Fortune (i. e., Fortune's smiles are liars!). I suspect that the correct reading of all the editions should be *Fraud is the front of forlorn hope past all recovery*, which brings out the military figure of a "forlorn hope." "Frontis nulla fides" is the subject of one of Whitney's emblems (*A Choice of Emblemes*, 1586, ed. Green, p. 100). Cf. 111.10 n., "formæ nulla fides."

5 *lodge.* Read *lodgd*, with *C*+.

6 *My death delaide, &c.* My death has been so delayed that it has not kept from my life the injury of hapless days. The poet means, If I had died earlier, I should not have suffered my present distress.

22 (No. 31) *Of Fortunes power.* In every edition (sigs. E2–$E2^v$ in *BC*, E3–$E3^v$ in *D*, E2 in *E*, E^v in *F–I*), and assigned in each to Richard Edwards. Opposite the title a MS. note in *B* says, "Vide 14" (i. e., No. 13 in this reprint).

23 *Policrates, &c.* The line is very dubious. Mr. Kittredge suggests that it may mean, "Polycrates, whose excessive prosperity prompted him to try to change his fortunes for the worse." The story of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos,

and the emerald (or sardonyx) seal-ring which Theodorus made for him, is told by Herodotus, iii. 41, and by Pliny, *Natural History*, xxxvii. 2.

32. 29 *her whirling wheele.* On Fortune and her wheel see the monograph cited at 16.16 n.

33. 7 *I rather be borne Fortunate, &c.* Sir Thomas More, in *The Boke of the fayre Gentylwoman . . . Lady Fortune*, 1540 (Huth's *Fugitive Tracts*, First Series), had said, "Better is to be fortunate, than wyse." Cf. Cicero, *Tusculanæ Disputationes*, v. 9. 25, "Vitam regit fortuna, non sapientia"; Heywood, *Works*, 1562, p. 62, "better to be happie then wise"; Draxe, 1616, p. 382, "It is better to be happy then wise"; Mabbe, *The Rogue*, 1623 (ed. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, II [1924], 61), "*Mas vale saber, que aver;* it is better to be wise, then to be rich; For though Fortune should play the Rebell, yet Knowledge never forsakes a man"; and Samuel Sheppard, *Epigrams*, 1651, p. 106, "'*Tis better to be Fortunate then Wise.*"

8 *The blindest man right soone, &c.* This is undoubtedly a sentence independent of line 9. *Man* is, I suspect, a misprint for *runs* (the words are not very dissimilar in manuscript), in which case the line might mean that the blindest, if he is guided by good fortune, immediately goes aright, or proceeds in the right path.

11 (No. 32) *Though Triumph, &c.* In every edition (sigs. E2^{v}–E3 in *BC*, E3^{v}–E4 in *D*, E2–E2^{v} in *E*, E^{v}–E2 in *F–I*), and assigned in each to Richard Edwards.

20 *oppresseth.* Read *oppress the.*

30 *law doe.* Read *favor*, with *B*+.

33 *Is.* Read *It.*

34. 5 *same.* Read *fame.*

12–13 *shew then, shine.* The readings of *B*+, *shining into* (or *unto*) and *blaze*, are preferable.

15 (No. 33) *Of perfect wisedome.* In every edition (sigs. E3–E3^{v} in *BC*, E4–E4^{v} in *D*, E2^{v}–E3 in *E*, E2–E2^{v} in *F–I*), and assigned in each to Richard Edwards. Reprinted in Farr's *Select Poetry*, II, 295 f.

16 *same.* The reading *fame* might be expected.

30 *It teacheth vs, &c.* Heavenly wisdom teaches us so to order our lives while we are alive that, when the earthly mass (of our bodies) is dissolved, we may save our souls from death.

31 *it dissolueth earthly masse.* These words are practically repeated at 52.24. They were undoubtedly suggested here, as there, by 2 Corinthians v. 1 (quoted at 52.23 n).

35. 2 *feare of God.* Edwards evidently had in mind Psalms cxi. 10, "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom" (cf. Job xxviii. 28 and Proverbs i. 7, ix. 10).

7 *stomackes Lord represse.* So the *Mirror for Magistrates*, 1610 (ed. Haslewood, III [1815], 649), has "The frowne of Mars did bring his stomacke downe."

35. 11 *may like thereof insue.* That all our deeds alike may be the outcome of wisdom.

15 (No. 34) *A frendly admonition.* In every edition (sigs. E3^{v}–E4 in *BC*, E4^{v}–F in *D*, E3–E3^{v} in *E*, E2^{v}–E3 in *F–I*), and assigned in each to Richard Hill. Reprinted in Farr's *Select Poetry*, II, 305 f. Opposite the title a MS. note in *B* says, "against worldlings." On the stanza-form see 17.2 n.

22 *sucke.* Read *soak*, with *B*+.

27 *doe.* The reading of *B*+, *down*, may be preferable.

32 *To let.* Perhaps the reading should be *So let.*

36. 8 *no iudge in other mens offence.* Cf. Matthew vii. 1 (also Luke vi. 37), "Judge not, that ye be not judged."

13 *shame.* Read *shun*, with *B*+.

14 *Finis. R. Hill.* Underneath this signature a MS. note in *B* says, "velle suu*m* cuiq*ue* et rer*um* discolor vsus" (a confused quotation from Persius, *Satires*, v. 52 f., "Mille hominum species et rerum discolor usus; velle suum cuique est, nec voto vivitur uno").

15 (No. 35) *Sundrie men, sundrie affectes.* In every edition (sigs. E4–E4^{v} in *BC*, F–F^{v} in *D*, E3^{v}–E4 in *E*, E3–E3^{v} in *F–I*), and assigned in each to Richard Hill. The title is proverbial. With it compare Terence, *Phormio*, II. iv, "Quot homines, tot sententiæ"; Chaucer, *The Squire's Tale* (F. 203), "As many hedes, as many wittes ther been"; Samuel Rowlands, *Greenes Ghost*, 1602, G^{v}, "so manie men, so manie mindes"; Draxe, 1616, p. 396, "Diuers men, diuers minds"; Mabbe, *The Rogue*, 1623 (ed. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, II [1924], 68 f., III, 301), "*Quot capita, tot sensus.* So many men, so many mindes," "mens opinions are divers; and so many heads, so many mindes."

17 *after.* Only *B* has the correct reading, *after travail.*

20 *The loftie yeares.* I think the reading should be *The lofty peers.*

22 *chattering.* The reading of *HI*, *clattering*, is preferable.

28 *The siluer sound of musickes cordes.* The adjective *silver* as applied to music is jokingly discussed in *Romeo and Juliet*, where Peter sings from Edwards's song (cf. 63.3 n.). It was, however, a conventional word. Cf. Humfrey Gifford, "In the Praise of Musicke" (*A Posie of Gilloflowers*, 1580, N2^{v}, *Complete Poems*, ed. Grosart, p. 108), "She with her siluer sounding tunes, Reuiues mans dulled sprites"; Thomas Weelkes, *Madrigals*, 1600 (E. H. Fellowes, *English Madrigal Verse*, 1920, p. 221), "Methinks I hear . . . Arion's harp distilling silv'ring sound"; and 41.36.

33 *whirling Spheres . . . do hermonie retaine.* Many poets and prose-writers have feigned that the spheres in their revolutions make lovely music, — among them Cicero, Pythagoras, Macrobius, and Shakespeare (e. g., in *The Merchant of Venice*, v. i. 60–65). Chaucer, in *The Parliament of Birds*, lines 60–63, says:

> And after that the melodye herde he
> That cometh of thilke speres thryes three,
> That welle is of musyke and melodye
> In this world heer, and cause of armonye.

See the discussion of this matter in Skeat's Chaucer, I, 507 f., and in E. W. Naylor's "Music and Shakespeare," *The Musical Antiquary*, April, 1910.

37. 4 *one*. Read *an*, with *B*+.

7 *geues, other*. Read *gives a*, with *B*+. *Others*, the reading in *B*+, for *other*, is wrong, the sense being that music adds a pleasure to other pleasures.

15 (No. 36) *Time giues experience*. This poem by R. H. (Richard Hill) appears in *A* only. On the stanza-form see 22.13 n.

22 *Titius*. Ovid (*Metamorphoses*, iv. 457 f.) tells how Tityus, the earth-born giant (who, because he had obstructed the road to the Delphian oracle and insulted Latona, was slain by Apollo), lay in the underworld stretched over nine acres while two vultures devoured his liver. The allusion is a favorite of the Elizabethan poets. So, for instance, in his *Epitaphes*, 1567 (Collier's reprint, p. 242), Turbervile writes,

> Though Tytius doe indure his liver to be rent
> Of vultures tyring on the same unto his spoile ybent.

24 *Sisiphus*. Sisyphus, king of Corinth, was condemned to the punishment here mentioned (see Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, iv. 460, 465 ff.) because he had dared to tell of the amorous dalliance of Jupiter and Ægina.

26 *A number moe in hell be found*. Among them were Tantalus, the Titans, and the daughters of Danaus.

29 *of me*. Read *of mine* for the sake of rhyme.

38. 11 *towres in time be wonne*. A commonplace, repeated at 29.34, 59.18–19, 84.4.

15 (No. 37) *Of sufferance cometh ease*. In every edition (sigs. F in *BC*, F2 in *D*, E4^{v} in *E*, E4 in *F–I*); assigned to E. S. in *A* only, to Lord Vaux in *B–I*. The authorship should be credited to Vaux. The title is proverbial. Cf. Chaucer's *Troilus*, iv. 1584; Benedict Burgh's Cato, v. 310 (*Anglia*, XLII [1918], 205); Heywood's *Works*, 1562, pp. 18, 134; Shakespeare's *2 Henry IV*, v. iv. 28; J. Gruter, 1611, II, 182; Camden's *Proverbs*, 1614, p. 329; Draxe, 1616, p. 401; George Wither's *Emblemes*, 1635, p. 23; and the title of a poem that Anthony Munday contributed to Thomas Howell's *H. His Deuises*, 1581, E3^{v}, "Omnis fortuna superanda ferendo est. Of sufferance comes ease." With Munday's title compare *Mery Tales*, 1567 (*Shakespeare Jest-Books*, ed. Hazlitt, I, 65, 2d pagination), "The wyse poet Virgil sayth: all fortune by suffrance must be ouercome." Another copy of No. 37 in the *Gorgeous Gallery*, p. 69, has these variations:

38. 15 In the *Gorgeous Gallery* the title reads, "The Louer being accused of suspicion of flattery, pleadeth not gyltie, and yet is wrongfully condemned."
18 where] when
19 moode] moodes: where] when
21 cause] case
24 loued] leuid
25 the] that

38. 26 wrote] wrought: selfe] freend
27 who . . . extremitie] if the troth were truely tryde: proofe] prooft
29 of] to
31 selues] be: needed] needeth
33 amisse] accuse: might] may
36 E. S.] *Om.*

38. 19 *With ragelesse moode.* The *N. E. D.* cites only this instance of *rageless;* but it quotes from the *Gorgeous Gallery* (1578) rather than from the *Paradise* (1576).

26–35 *I wrote but for my selfe, &c.* The poet protests that something he has written has been misinterpreted to his harm. "I wrote the thing," he says, "merely to express my grief on a purely personal matter, as might be proved if anybody chose to submit to the same extremity of sorrow that I suffered. [That is, such a person would find that experiences like mine account fully for such a thing as I wrote, without its having any further meaning or purpose.] Yet there are [etc., lines 28–29]. As a result (of their neglecting the old maxim) it may happen (if I may express a snap judgment) that they themselves may become objects of suspicion in connection with this matter, since they [literally, *who*] had no occasion to kick (unless they were somehow implicated in a fault)." This last comment infers: Their sensitiveness may lead one to think that they suspected me of having such a meaning because they were themselves guilty of such a thing. *It* in line 33 refers to the mysterious *something.* The poet goes on to say that he doesn't pretend to *know* that his accusers are guilty; he is merely resisting wrong and advising them to look out how they attack him again. — I am indebted to Mr. Kittredge for most of this paraphrase.

29 *this olde trothe, things proue not as they seeme.* This "olde trothe" occurs in Phædrus's *Fables,* iv. 2. 16 f., "Non semper ea sunt quae videntur: decipit Frons prima multos." It is repeated in Longfellow's *Psalm of Life,* "And things are not what they seem."

37 *38.Being.* The number in *A*'s key-word, *34,* I have changed to *38,* to make it accord with the number to which it points here.

39. 2 (No. 38) *Being trapped in Loue, &c.* This poem appears in *A* only. It is the only sonnet in the *Paradise;* but there are several sonnets in its successor, the *Gorgeous Gallery.*

4 *sighes, as filles the aire with smoke.* Cf. *As You Like It,* II. vii. 147 f., "the lover, Sighing like furnace."

5 *The golden beames, &c.* The golden beams (of the sun) dare not endure the answer of the stroke dealt by this his (Cupid's) fiery dart. "The answer of the stroke" — i. e., the results which the stroke has produced in me — is the sighs which fill the air with smoke impervious to the sun's rays. In other words, the rays of the sun can't compete with the smoke produced by my sighs!

10 *my head.* Read *his* (= its) *head,* or *the head.*

39. 18 (No. 39) *Though Fortune haue, &c.* This poem appears in *A* and *B* only. In *B* it is printed on sigs. M^{v}–M2, and is assigned to T. Marshall. With the omission of the second and fourth stanzas, it is reprinted in Ellis's *Specimens*, II (1801), 122 f., (1803), 150 f., and with the omission of the fourth stanza in Farr's *Select Poetry*, II, 311 f.

20 *To die, Dame nature did man frame.* A MS. note in *B* objects, "not nature but sinne."

24 *That lawe shee made, &c.* Cf. Shakespeare's *2 Henry IV*, III. ii. 41 f., "death, as the Psalmist saith, is certain to all; all shall die."

40. 2 *aright.* Read *a right*, with *B*.

10 *Hercules.* For a ballad on "Herculis and his ende," registered in 1563–64, see my *Analytical Index*, No. 1100; and compare the discussion in the *Handful*, pp. 105 f. With lines 10–17 compare "St. Bernard's Verses," No. 1.

12 *Ianus who had all foresight.* Janus, the porter of heaven, had two faces, which gave him "all foresight." As everybody knows, January is named for him.

13 *chast Hypolit.* For a summary of the story of Hippolytus and Phædra see the *Gorgeous Gallery*, pp. 162 f.

15 *Irus* is described in the eighteenth book of the *Odyssey* as "a public beggar who was wont to beg through the town of Ithaca, and was known for his greedy belly, eating and drinking without end." Homer tells how Irus kept watch over the suitors of Penelope, and how Odysseus, on his return, felled him to the floor with one blow and flung him out of doors. His poverty is referred to in the common French proverb, "Plus pauvre qu' Irus," and in Sackville's "Induction," 1563, line 294 (*Mirror for Magistrates*, 1587, II [1815], 321), "esteming equally King *Crœsus*' pompe, and *Irus*' pouertie." Cf. also Thomas Howell, *H. His Deuises*, 1581, G (*Poems*, ed. Grosart, p. 213), "Poore *Irus* cause at dore doth stande, If *Crœsus* come with Golde in hande"; Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie*, 1589 (ed. Arber, p. 58), "*Irus* the begger . . . whom *Homer* maketh mention of"; Thomas Rogers, *Celestiall Elegies*, 1598, D, "*Irus* with *Cresus* boldly may compare Both equall are when death standes at the doore"; Alexander Craig, *Poeticall Essayes*, 1604, D^{v} (ed. Hunterian Club, p. 26), and *Amorose Songes*, 1606, I6^{v} (*ibid.*, p. 140), "In *Pallas* Church did wretched *Irus* stand," "Or were I begging bread like *Ithak Irus* poore, Whom proud *Vlisses* with his fist feld dead into the floore."

16 *Signus.* I. e., Cycnus, or Cygnus, the son of Poseidon and a king of Colonæ in Troas. He fought bravely on the side of the Trojans, but was killed by Achilles and was by Neptune changed into a swan. Ovid tells the story in the *Metamorphoses*, xii. 72 ff.

34. *40.All.* The number in *A*'s key-word, *36*, is there correct, for the *39* to which it points is a misprint for *36*. I have changed the number to *40*, to make it accord with the number to which it points here.

41. 2 (No. 40) *All thinges ar Vaine.* In every edition (sigs. F–F^{v} in *BC*, F2–F2^{v} in *D*, E4^{v}–F in *E*, E4–E4^{v} in *F–I*), and assigned in each to Francis

Kinwelmarsh. The title and the poem are indebted to Ecclesiastes i. 2, xii. 8, "Vanity of vanities, saith the Preacher, vanity of vanities; all is vanity." Reprinted in Farr's *Select Poetry*, II, 293 f.

41. 31 *The world is but a vanitie.* Repeated in the title of No. 56 (62.2).

34 (No. 41) *A vertuous Gentle woman, &c.* In every edition (sigs. F^{v}–F2 in *BC*, F2^{v}–F3 in *D*, F–F^{v} in *E*, E4^{v}–F in *F–I*), and assigned in each to Francis Kinwelmarsh.

35 *and free.* For regularity of metre these words should have been omitted.

36 *siluer voyce.* Cf. 36.28 n.

37 *curtesie.* Read *courteous*, with *D*+.

42. 7 *flowres.* Read *flower*, with *F*+.

17 *liuely.* In *B*+ the reading is *lovely*.

19 *my golden wyer heares.* A favorite Elizabethan figure. Cf. W. A., *A Speciall Remedie against the furious force of lawlesse Loue*, 1579, F1, "Their cullored hayre like golden wyer" (at F2 he speaks of "bushye broydred hayre"!); Turbervile, *Tragical Tales*, *ca.* 1574 (1837 reprint of the 1587 ed., p. 296), "Her heare is golden wyer"; Lyly, in a ditty sung to Queen Elizabeth in 1591 (*Works*, ed. Bond, I, 423), "Behold her lockes like wiers of beaten gold"; *The Phœnix Nest*, 1593 (Collier's reprint, p. 26), "ticing haire, like nets of golden wire"; Shakespeare, sonnet 130, "If hairs be wires, black wires grow on her head"; Thomas Morley, *The First Booke of Canzonets*, 1595 (ed. Bolle, *Palaestra*, XXIX [1903], 111), "In nets of golden wyers, With Pearle and Reubie spangled"; *England's Helicon*, 1600 (ed. Bullen, p. 83), "Her tresses are like wires of beaten gold."

27 (No. 42) *Oppressed with sorowe, &c.* In every edition (sigs. F2–F3^{v} in *BC*, F3–F4^{v} in *D*, F^{v}–F2^{v} in *E*, F–F2 in *F–I*), without an author's signature.

43. 5 *Whose death . . . procure.* This line is in *A* only, but in *B* an old hand has inserted the line, "who can not hope for change of happe nor [can *seems to be erased here*] this vnhappe endure."

18 *learned Gallens bookes.* Galen, or Galienus, — one of the medical authorities whom Chaucer's Doctor followed, — was born at Pergamus in 130 A.D.

28 *The auncient prouerbe.* I have not found this proverb elsewhere. Somewhat similar to it are the remarks of Cicero (*Epistles*, iv. 5), "Nullus dolor est quem non longinquitas temporis minuat ac molliat," and Cervantes (*Don Quixote*, part ii, chapter x), "There is a remedy for all things but death." Cf. also Richard Edwards, *Damon and Pithias*, *ca.* 1565, D (*Tudor Facsimile Texts*), "And Phisicke hath prouided too, a Salue for euerie sore"; Gascoigne, *Supposes*, 1566, II. i (*Complete Poems*, ed. Hazlitt, I, 213), "there is a salue for euery sore, and doubt you not to this mischeefe we shall find a remedie"; Draxe, 1616, p. 401, "God hath provided a remedie for every disease"; Mabbe, *The Rogue*, 1623 (ed. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, III [1924], 251), "*No ay mal, que no venga por bien:* There is no ill, which doth not turne to our good"; Mabbe,

Celestina, 1631 (ed. H. W. Allen, p. 161), "For where heaven gives a wound, there it gives a remedy; and as it hurts, so it heals."

43.37 *by haute of healthfull soyle.* Probably the reading should be (with *B*+) *haunt*, i. e., by haunting, living on, healthful soil.

44.17 *The Ploughmans weary worke, &c.* A commonplace. Cf. Tottel's *Miscellany*, 1557, p. 156, "The pore man ploweth his ground for graine, And soweth his seede increase to craue"; and Turbervile, *Epitaphes*, 1567 (Collier's reprint, pp. 38 f., 89),

> The ploughman eke that toyles
> and turnes the ground for graine,
> And sowes his seede (perhaps to losse)
> yet standes in hope of gaine.
>
> What ploughman would be glad
> to sowe his seede for gaine,
> And reape, when harvest time comes on,
> but travaile for his paine?

45. 7 *enforce thy owne decay.* I. e., violently bring about thy own destruction (by suicide).

8 *thou.* Read *it.*

28 (No. 43) *Where reason makes request, &c.* In every edition (sigs. $F3^v$–$F4^v$ in *BC*, $F4^v$–G^v in *D*, F3–F4 in *E*, $F2^v$–$F3^v$ in *F–I*), and assigned in each to "My Luck is Loss." Reprinted in Gascoigne's *Complete Poems*, ed. Hazlitt, II, 326–328. Hazlitt announces that his copy comes from *D* "collated with ed. 1578" (*B*); but he includes the last nine lines of *A* (48.4–12), which appear in *A* only. The poem is written in rhyme royal, as is also No. 127 (p. 133).

46.11–13 *my charter to require, &c.* "My privilege of asking for each (i. e., any) lady's love is granted to me by the voice of custom." "Yet the ladies' consent (to your suit) is evidence that they (not you) do the choosing."

14 *at lardge.* Perhaps read *as* for *at.*

20 *what gaue she, Cheese, or chalke.* Proverbial. Cf. Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, prologue, line 416, and ii. 2346 f., "Lo, how thei feignen chalk for chese," "And thus fulofte chalk for chese He changeth"; Heywood's *Works*, 1562, p. 52, "As a lyke to compare in taste, chalke and chese"; *Mirror for Magistrates*, 1587 (ed. Haslewood, I [1815], 247),"for cheese to giue thee chalke"; George Pettie, *The Civile Conversation of M. Steeven Guazzo*, 1581 (ed. Edward Sullivan, II [1925], 49), "(as the proverbe is) They know not Chaffe from Corne, or Chalke from Cheese"; *The Pedler's Prophecy*, 1595, A4, "I know chalke from cheese"; Samuel Rowlands, *The Letting of Humours Blood*, 1600, E6, "*Tom* is no more like thee, then Chalks like Cheese"; Dekker, *Satiro-mastix*, 1602 (ed. Scherer, 1907, p. 27), "rascalls be here that will haue your grace take shalke for shees." Other examples are cited in John Day's *Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green*, *ca.*1600 (ed. W. Bang, 1902, p. 74).

21–22 *That taste must try . . . her bowe aloofe.* In *BC her* is changed to *ther*(*e*), which is, I presume, the possessive pronoun, like *their* in *D*+. The

change was no doubt made because *bowe* was unintelligible; but *bowe* most probably is a misprint for *love*, and the reading should, as Mr. Kittredge suggests, be *her* (not *their*) *love*. With that emendation, the meaning of the text becomes clear: "Did she give you cheese or chalk (i. e., favor or disfavor)?" "Those who taste must decide which it was." "What do you mean by taste?" "By taste I mean my experience with friends (of hers) whose wills withhold her love aloof." In other words, she did give him chalk; for she referred him to her friends, and they were adverse to his suit. Cf. 47.4: "Do you know what her friends purpose in keeping her so long from favoring your suit?"

46. 24 *carpet trade*. I. e., the occupations and amusements of the chamber or boudoir (*H* has *Cupid's trade*, or love-affairs) as contrasted with the business of arms, the "trade of the field." A similar expression is "carpet knight" (cf. 130.10 n.), one who received his honors in the Court, upon carpets, instead of on the battle-field.

25 *proofes from such delayes*. "Delaie is dowtf*ul* [?]," cautions a MS. note in *B*.

28 *wyl thou, &c*. Read *wilt thou*, with *B*+. With *for saint adore the shrine* compare *A poore Knight his Pallace of priuate pleasures*, 1579, F,

> hee found his *Cressid* out,
> Whose shrine he serued, whō he had made his saint.

Cf. 70. 6 n.

29 *woo her freend*. A MS. note in *B* advises, "first wyn the woman after hir frends."

47. 3 *may chek, from yea to nay*. A falconer's term: may stop and turn suddenly to nay when she is apparently proceeding in the direction of yea.

4 *her frendes intent*. See the note on 46.21–22.

9 *who sith thy sute*. For *who* read *why*, as at 46.6, 47.6, 11, 16, 26.

10 *Know of or on, or thou afect to much*. I. e., know whether you are off or on (favored or frowned on) before you love too much.

11–48.12 *No haste but good, why no, the meane is best, &c*. Cf. Heywood's *Works*, 1562, p. 80, "No hast but good (quoth she)." Draxe (1616, p. 392) also gives this phrase as a proverb; and on p. 395 he has, "The meane is the best." The frantic punctuation seems to make considerable annotation desirable. Let X = the lover, Y = his friend. In the preceding lines of the dialogue Y has reproved X for letting his love-affair dally along in doubt. X retorts (line 11), "No haste but good," i. e., "In such a case it is well not to make haste unless you are sure that such haste will be successful." Y replies: "No! the mean is best. I don't ask you to hurry too much, but warn you, nevertheless, not to dally as you are doing. Admit she loves you — then you may lose her by lingering and not speaking. Suppose she's caught! Then you are a fool to wait for the end to prove it and to allow her thus to scorn you in the meantime. Such danger ebbs and flows in lingering love!" "What can I do in this case?" inquires X (line 16). "Why," rejoins Y, "wake in dangerous watch! [i. e., since

you are a watchman at a post of danger, keep awake!]. That neither-to-nor-fro [i. e., that inaction] which you are practising may make you lose the game!" Then X speaks the whole of the next stanza (lines 18–24), refusing to force the issue, though he admits that Y may be right. He will prove true to his promise of fidelity (line 22) and remain devoted till he gets a positive rejection from his lady or her friends. "Are you such a fool?" Y asks scornfully; and X replies, "Not a fool, just a steadfast lover." "Why, fool!" exclaims Y; "her friends know you are her suitor, yet you are so stupid as not to see that she and they are really flouting your suit by keeping it in doubt. You (line 29) don't know how to get a woman to give you her love instead of scorn. Adieu," he concludes (line 30), "for sighs should prevent such folly as yours" (though, as Mr. Kittredge suggests, *for sightes* may very well be a misprint for *foresight*). X responds (lines 31–32), "Well, well! The scoffs [frumps] of her friends might be repaid by scorn on my part if I had only assurance one way or the other! If I had her 'yea,' I should be able to laugh at her friends; if I had a positive 'nay,' I could scoff with the best of them! [Meanwhile I bide my time, refusing to hurry!]." And Y ends the conversation with, "Well, well! weigh the wisdom of these following lines [= 48.4–12] and store them in your heart."

47. 12 *mislike in lingring growes.* A proverbial expression repeated in lines 15 and 20. In his *Pleasant Dialogues and Dramma's*, 1637 (ed. W. Bang, 1903, p. 210), Thomas Heywood quotes from Quintilian, "lingring growes loathsome where necessity craves haste." Cf. also the ballad "Of Lingering Love" (1563–64) which is reprinted in Lyly's *Works*, ed. Bond, III, 463 f., and discussed in the *Handful*, p. 103; and see, further, the *Gorgeous Gallery*, p. 190.

13 *Woodcocke on thy crest.* A woodcock was thought to be an utter simpleton. Cf. "The Great Boobee" (*Roxburghe Ballads*, VII, 273), "And some did say I was a *Woodcock, and a great Boobee.*"

48. 4–12 *What is, &c.* Observe that these lines are printed in *A* only; but they are copied by an Elizabethan hand in the margin of *G*, with the variations of *therefor* (for *thereof*, line 10) and *my will to thyne* (for *thy will to mine*, line 12). The nine lines have identical rhyme in long *i*, like Browning's poem "Through the Metidja to Abd-El-Kadr."

14 (No. 44) *Donec eris Felix, &c.* In every edition (sigs. G^v in *BC*, G2–$G2^v$ in *D*, $F4^v$ in *E*, F4 in *F–I*), and assigned in each to "My Luck is Loss." Reprinted in Gascoigne's *Complete Poems*, ed. Hazlitt, II, 330. The title, from Ovid's *Tristia*, i. 9. 5, appears also in the *Gorgeous Gallery*, p. 100. Sir Thomas Elyot, in *The Book Named The Governor*, 1531 (ed. Croft, II, 164), translated the verses thus:

> Whiles fortune the fauoureth frendes thou hast plentie,
> The tyme beinge troublous thou arte alone.

A similar idea is several times expressed by Chaucer; e. g., in *The Man of Law's Prologue* (B. 120 f.) and in *The Tale of Melibeus* (B. 2749 ff.). Cf. also 89.19 n.

15 *amissus.* Read *amissas*, with *C*+.

49. 1 *of daintie deuises.* In *A* the headlines and authors' signatures change abruptly here to a smaller font of type, the original page-numbers and poem-numbers shift from roman to italic type of a still smaller size (and the periods after page-numbers are discontinued), the general system of stanza-indention seems to be somewhat altered, and in the headlines, it will be observed, the word *dayntie* henceforth becomes *daintie*. Similar changes occur in *B* from signature H onward, and the folio-numbers at the top of the leaves disappear. Cf. p. xvi above, and the note at 50.10.

2 (No. 45) *What ioye, &c.* In every edition (sigs. $F4^v$–G in *BC*, G^v–G2 in *D*, F4–$F4^v$ in *E*, $F3^v$–F4 in *F–I*), and assigned in each to "My Luck is Loss." Reprinted in Gascoigne's *Complete Poems*, ed. Hazlitt, II, 329 f. On the stanza-form see 17.2 n.

4 *who holdeth not vniust.* Who doesn't consider a feigning friend unjust (wrong)?

9 *What head so staied?* In the margin of this stanza *B* has the MS. note, "nihil in humanis rebus perfectum aut constans ab omni parte."

50. 5 *gainst heauenly helples curse.* Against heaven's curse, which can't be escaped.

9 (No. 46) *Amantium iræ amoris, &c.* In every edition (sigs. G^v–G2 in *BC*, $G2^v$–G3 in *D*, $F4^v$–G in *E*, F4–$F4^v$ in *F–I*), and assigned in each to Richard Edwards. The words and music of No. 46 are reprinted in Sir John Hawkins's *General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, V (1776), 453–457; the words of the first, second, and last stanzas in Ellis's *Specimens*, II (1801), 113 f., (1803), 141; and the entire poem in R. H. Evans's *Old Ballads*, III (1810), 360–363. Manuscript copies (dating about 1597) of the tenor and bass parts of this song were discovered in 1923, though the organ score had long been known from a copy preserved in a British Museum MS.; and a vocal score, constructed from these two sources, was published in *The Musical Times* for July, 1923 (LXIV, 476, 483 ff.).

The ultimate source of the title is Terence's *Andria*, III. iii. 23, where in many editions it appears as "amantium iræ amoris integratiost [or integratio'st]"; but in Octavianus Mirandula's *Illustrium Poetarum Flores* (London, 1566, p. 80; 1570, p. 79), whence Edwards probably took it, it has the form "amantium iræ amoris redintegratio est." It is also used as an illustration in Lily's *Short Introduction of Grammar* (1577, C4; 1651, $C4^v$). Cf. Abraham Fraunce's prologue to the Latin comedy of *Victoria* (ed. G. C. Moore Smith, 1906, p. 6), "Sic amantium iræ amoris est redintegratio"; William Painter, *The Palace of Pleasure*, II (1567), novel 29 (ed. Haslewood, II [1813], 523), translating Terence's saying,

> The louers often falling out,
> And prety wrangling rage:
> Of pleasaunt loue it is no doubt,
> The sure renewing gage;

the sixteenth-century *Book of Fortune* (Mrs. C. C. Stopes, *Shakespeare's Industry*, p. 196), "'Tis an old Proverb and a true That quarrels oft do love renew"; Lyly, *Euphues and his England*, 1580 (*Works*, ed. Bond, II, 143), "let the falling out of frinds be a renewing of affection"; Lodge, *Rosalynde*, 1590 (*Works*, ed. Hunterian Club, I. v. 19), "I knowe we shall be friends, and better friends than we haue been. For, *Amantium iræ amoris redint egratio est*"; the pamphlet *Bacchus' Bountie*, 1593 (*Harleian Miscellany*, II [1809], 305), "The falling out of lovers is the renewing of love"; Draxe, 1616, p. 349, "The falling out of louers is a renewing of loue"; Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, 1621, III. §2. ii. 4, "*Amantium iræ amoris redintegratio*, as the old saying is, the falling out of lovers is the renewing of love"; Patrick Hannay, *Songs and Sonnets*, 1622 (*Works*, ed. Hunterian Club, p. 238), "Amantium iræ amoris redintegratio est," the title of song ii; Milton, *Samson Agonistes*, 1671, line 1008, "Love-quarrels oft in pleasing concord end." See also the ballad of "Amantium iræ Amoris redintegratio est. The falling out of Louers, is the renewing of Loue, To the Tune of *The Meddow brow*," *ca.* 1630, which is reprinted in the *Roxburghe Ballads*, I, 18, and quoted in Henry Glapthorne's *Wit in a Constable*, 1639, IV. i (*Plays and Poems*, ed. Pearson, I, 223), and (not quite exactly) in the Duke of Newcastle's *Triumphant Widow*, 1677, p. 41. "Amantium Iræ" is the name of a chapter in Thackeray's *Vanity Fair*, and the phrase is quoted in George Meredith's *Egoist*, chapter xix. The entire line is paraphrased in George Colman's *Jealous Wife*, 1761, IV. i (but the passage is not in some of the later editions), and in the first lyric of Tennyson's *Princess*. "What signifies a Quarrel with a Mistress?" asks Colman. "Why, the whole Affair of making Love, as they call it, is nothing but quarrelling and making it up again. They quarrel o' purpose to kiss and be Friends." The passage in *The Princess* runs:

> And blessings on the falling out
> That all the more endears,
> When we fall out with those we love
> And kiss again with tears!

An interesting use of the phrase occurs also in H. D. Traill's *Sterne*, chapter v: "Their estrangement, in short, had grown apace, and had already brought them to that stage of mutual indifference which is at once so comfortable and so hopeless — secure alike against the risk of 'scenes' and the hope of reconciliation, shut fast in its exemption from *amantium iræ* against all possibility of *redintegratio amoris*." It should also be noted that in some texts (e. g., Woelfflin's, 1869) the thirty-seventh maxim of Publilius Syrus is "Amantium ira amoris integratio est," perhaps appropriated from Terence.

50. 10 *In goyng to my naked bedde.* From this point onward fully half of the initials in *A* are in a larger font than before, and a similar change occurs at signature H in *B* (cf. the note at 49.1). *To my naked bedde* means "naked to my bed," as at this time, as well as later, it was customary to dispense with nightclothes. Cf. Kyd, *The Spanish Tragedy*, *ca.* 1585, II. v, "What out-cries pluck

me from my naked bed"; Shakespeare, *Venus and Adonis*, lines 397 f., "Who sees his true-love in her naked bed, Teaching the sheets a whiter hue than white"; Sir John Harington's translation of *Orlando Furioso*, 1634, xvii. 75, "As straight he gat him to his naked bed."

50. 12 *sang full sore.* Read *sang full sweet*, with *B*+.

13 *rest.* The reading *cease* (*B*+) is preferable.

17 *is the renuyng.* In *BC* the smoother reading, *renewing is*, is introduced in the first three stanzas, and in *D*+ throughout the refrain.

31 *tyme.* The reading *time, and days*, which the metre requires, is supplied by *H*.

51. 6–7 *begone, some.* With this rhyme, or rather assonance, compare also *ronne, ouercome* (57.10–11) and *come, runne* (59.24–25). All three cases occur in poems attributed to Edwards. Lines 6–7 are explained by Mr. Kittredge thus: "'So nature can well carry out her perfect work to the end (which is peace after disturbance), subduing in the end whatever does not wish to cease working her (nature's) destruction.' Beasts would like to fight forever, but they can't — that would be the annihilation of nature — and so they have to cease and become friends, — which is nature's perfect work."

19 (No. 47) *Thinke to dye.* In every edition (sigs. G2–G3 in *BC*, G3–G3^{v} in *D*, G–G^{v} in *E*, F4^{v}–G in *F–I*), and assigned in each to D. S. (D. Sand). Cf. 25.17 n., and the proverb *memento mori*. After the title there is a MS. note in *B*, "o vita misero longa fælici brevis." Other copies of this poem are "Comparison of lyfe and Death" (*T*), by an unknown author, in Tottel's *Miscellany*, 1557, p. 129; and "Elegy wrote in the Tower by John Haryngton, confined with the Princess Elizabeth, 1554" (*N*), in *Nugæ Antiquæ*, 1769, pp. 95 f., III (1779, 1792), 269 f., II (1804), 332 f. In the version capriciously attributed to Harington there are only three stanzas, the first, third, and sixth. Verbal differences between the three texts are as follows:

51. 20 whiche] that *NT*
22 panges . . . forepast] pange, or painful plague, scarce past *N*
23 Yelds] Yelde *T*: Yelds . . . estate] But some new greif, still green, doth marr our state *N*
24 So . . . greate] In all we find 'midst this worlds *N*
25 That] Sure *N*, The *T*: shorteneth] shortythe *N*, endeth *T*
26 And] Yet *T*: 26–31 *omitted in N*
27 All] At *T*
32 semes so swetely] some so swiftelye *N*; seme, so swifte that *T*
34 wights] nightes *T*: daies dawes] day daweth *T*: *In N the line runs*, The riot-night which day draws on so soone
52. 2 mo] more *N*
3 as] lyke *N*: against] kyss'd by *N*
4 maks . . . that] soon ends all that vain *N*
5–16 *omitted in N*
10 The . . . self] Though how, or when, the lord alone *T*
13 perill] perilles *T*
15 and] as *T*
16 is happier] were better *T*

52. 17 the doore] a porte *NT:* drawe] pass *NT*
19 dole] dear *NT:* seaseth] killeth *N:* awaie] annoye *NT*
21 And] For *N:* in] to *NT:* is] was *N*
22 by . . . likewise] by deathe all freedom too was *N*, likewise by death was fredome *T*
23–28 *omitted in N*
24 fleshly] fleshy *T*
28 And] To *T*
29 *Om. NT*

Other copies, without title or signature, occur in the so-called Harington MS. (Additional 28,635, fols. 10ᵛ–11) and in MS. Ashmole 48 (ed Roxburghe Club, pp. 36 f.). No. 47 is reprinted from the *Paradise* in Farr's *Select Poetry*, II, 299 f. On the stanza-form see 17.2 n.

51. 23 *to stablishe this estate.* To confirm this wretched condition of man.

27 *All whiche conflict in thraldome I was thrust.* A meaningless remark to me. Perhaps the reading should be *ẅ* (with) for *w̄ch* (which).

33 *The mery daies, &c.* The merry days that so quickly fleet to an end.

34 *wights.* Read *nights*, with *HI*.

52. 7–10 *As man might make, &c.* I. e., as if man might bring it to pass that life should last always, regardless of the fact that Christ long ago led the dance of death, which all persons must in turn dance, although the hour wherein they shall dance only the Lord himself doth know. For ballads on the dance of death see the *Roxburghe Ballads*, III, 184, and Chappell's *Popular Music*, I, 85,164. Chappell remarks (p. 164): "A *Dance of Death* seems to be alluded to in *The Vision of Pierce Plowman* . . . but the subject was rendered especially popular in England by Lydgate's free translation from a French version of the celebrated German one by Machaber. Representations of *The Dance of Death* were frequently depicted upon the walls of cloisters and cathedrals," — as in the Salisbury Cathedral and the old St. Paul's in London. Holbein's "Dance of Death" is, of course, still well known. See Francis Douce's *Dance of Death* (1833) and E. H. Langlois's *Essai sur les Danses des Morts* (1852).

17–22 *Death is the, &c.* These six lines are quoted from Tottel's *Miscellany* in *Englands Parnassus*, 1600 (ed. Crawford, p. 44), where they are mistakenly assigned to the Earl of Surrey. Melbancke's *Philotimus*, 1583, Y2ᵛ (cf. 16.6–8 n.), combines 52. 17–18 with 8.18–19: "Come death, & throw thy pearcing dart into my panting breste: Death is a porte, whereby we passe to ioy: life is a lake that drowneth all in paine. A chiefe reliefe to conquered men is desperatlie to die. Adew delightes that lulled me asleepe: farewell my ioyes, and dulced bed of rest: sweet were the ioyes that would both like & last: straūg were the state exempt from all distres."

19 *seaseth all awaie.* The rhyme requires *ceaseth all annoy*, the reading in Tottel's *Miscellany* and in *FHI*.

23 *Wherefore with Paule, &c.* Cf. Romans vii. 24, "O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?"; and 2 Corinthians v. 1, "For we know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dis-

solved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens." See also 2 Timothy iv. 6–8.

52. 24 *To be disolued of this foule fleshly masse.* Cf. the foregoing note and 34.31 n.

30 (No. 48) *Beyng asked the occasion, &c.* In every edition (sigs. A4^{v}–B in *BCD*, A4–B in *E*, A3^{v}–A4^{v} in *F–I*); assigned to Lord Vaux in *A* only, to William Hunnis in *B–I*. Hunnis's claim to the poem seems indisputable. The last four stanzas are reprinted in Farr's *Select Poetry*, I, 158 f., all eight in Ellis's *Specimens*, II (1801), 60 ff., (1803), 90 ff. On the stanza-form see 22.13n.

53. 26 *of death the harbingers.* On the traditional Messengers of Death (*Boten des Todes*) see Bolte and Polívka, *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen*, III (1918), 293 ff., and the illustrations given in my *Gorgeous Gallery*, p. 192. Cf. also Wither, *Emblemes*, 1634, p. 184:

> Nay, you your selves, do sometime find the paines
> Of *Sicknesse*, in your Bowels, and your Vaines,
> The *Harbingers* of *Death*, sometime, begin
> To take up your whole *Bodie*, for their *Inne*.

30 *the line.* The reading, as shown by the demands of grammar, by *B*+, and by 54.3, should be *the lines*.

54. 7 *thereto I shall.* Cf. Genesis iii. 19, "for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return"; and the references in the *Gorgeous Gallery*, pp. 190 f.

10 *to those.* Perhaps *that* (or *all*) *those*, the readings of *E* and *F*+, are preferable. Lines 10–11 mean, God grant that those who have white hairs may get no worse lesson from them than I have expressed (in what precedes).

15 *my head.* Read *your head*, with *B*+.

17 (No. 49) *The Louer wisheth, &c.* This poem is in *A* only. The title is added from the *Gorgeous Gallery*, p. 52, where another version of the poem occurs. There are many differences between the two copies, as will appear from the following reprint of the *Gallery* text:

> I Would I were *Acteon*, whom *Diana* did disguise,
> To walke the woods vnknown, wheras my lady lies:
> A hart of pleasant hew, I wish that I were so,
> So that my Lady knew, alone mee, and no mo.
>
> To follow thicke and plaine, by hill and dale alow,
> To drinke the water fayne, and feede mee with the sloe:
> I would not feare the frost, to lye vpon the ground,
> Delight should quite the cost, what payne so that I found.
>
> The shaling nuts and mast, that falleth from the tree,
> Should serue for my repast, might I my Lady see:
> Sometime that I might say, when I saw her alone,
> Beholde thy slaue alone, that walkes these woods vnknowen.

23 *shalyng.* The *N. E. D.* defines this word as "?falling from the husk as ripe," and cites only the *Gorgeous Gallery* (1578), not the *Paradise* (1576).

54. 29 *M. B.* Evidently intended for Master Bewe.

30 (No. 50) *Beeing forsaken of his frend, &c.* In every edition (sigs. G3–G3^{v} in *BC*, G4–G4^{v} in *D*, G2–G2^{v} in *E*, G^{v}–G2 in *F–I*), and assigned in each to E. S. (but in *G* the *S.* has dropped from the form). The title, bracketed in my reprint, occurs in *B–I* but not in *A*. The poem is reprinted in Ellis's *Specimens*, II (1801), 125 f., (1803), 153. On the stanza-form see 22.13 n.

36 *vpsidoune.* Upside down. Cf. Chaucer, *The Canon's Yeoman's Prologue* (G. 625), "He coude al clene turne it up-so-doun"; Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, ii. 1744, "The lond was torned up so doun," iii. 80, "Al up so doun my joie it casteth," and iv. 561, "And al the world torne up so doun"; *Piers Plowman*, B. xx. 52 f., "Ántecryst cam thanne and al the croppe of treuthe Torned it vp so doune"; William Bercher, *The Nobility of Women*, 1559 (ed. Bond, 1904, p. 111), "torned the state of Rome vpsedowne."

55. 2 *A ffrende.* The lower-case *ff* represents the regular MS. form of capital *F*. All other editions (*B*+) have *A friend.*

14–15 *The fishe in ayer, &c.* In the margin a MS. note in *B* runs, "Ante leves rapido pascantur in æquore damæ," an inaccurate quotation of Virgil's "Ante leves ergo pascentur in æquore [*or* æthere] cervi" (*Eclogues*, i. 60). Lines 14–15 are a paraphrase of lines 61 ff. of this eclogue, "Et freta destituent nudos in litore pisces, Ante, pererratis amborum finibus, exsul," etc.

20 *Fortunes hate, &c.* It is interesting to observe that in *B*+ Fortune is made masculine by the change of *her* and *she* in lines 21, 22, to *his* and *he.*

27 (No. 51) *Prudens . . . Damacles, & Dionise.* In every edition (sigs. G3^{v}–G4 in *BC*, G4^{v}–H in *D*, G2^{v}–G3 in *E*, G2–G2^{v} in *F–I*), and assigned in *B–I* to Richard Edwards. The well-known story of Damocles and Dionysius the Elder, of Syracuse, is told by Cicero (*Tusculanæ Disputationes*, v. 21), and is referred to by Persius (*Satires*, iii. 40) and by Horace (*Odes*, iii. 1. 17 ff.). See also *Gesta Romanorum*, cap. 143 (ed. Oesterley, pp. 498 ff.); Thomas Wright, *A Selection of Latin Stories*, pp. 92 f. (Percy Society, vol. VIII, 1842); Chaucer, *The Knight's Tale* (A. 2028 ff.), and *Boethius*, bk. iii, prose 5. Whitney (*A Choice of Emblemes*, 1586, ed. Green, pp. 102 f.) has an emblem on the sword of Damocles. Alexander Craig, in his *Poeticall Essayes*, 1604, B2 (ed. Hunterian Club, p. 11), refers to the time

> When *Dionise* at *Siracusa* sweare
> That *Damocles* some while his Crowne should weare;
> But being crownd, he plainely did protest
> He neuer could be blithe to be so blest.

30–32 *High trees by stormie winds are shakt, &c.* These figures are favorite Elizabethan commonplaces. Cf. the *Gorgeous Gallery*, pp. 152, 183 f.

56. 22 *throughout Grece.* Or, rather, Sicily.

31 *their pleasures.* Read *his* (or *the*) *pleasures.*

57. 5 (No. 52) *Fortitude. A yong man of Ægipt, and Valerian.* In every edition (sigs. G4^{v}–H in *BC*, H–H^{v} in *D*, G3–G3^{v} in *E*, G2^{v}–G3 in *F–I*), and

assigned in *B–I* to Richard Edwards. This poem was almost certainly printed in broadside-ballad form, as indicated by its registration on March 5, 1579 (Rollins, *Analytical Index*, No. 1973), under the title of "A notable Dede of ye constancye of a true christian vnder ye persecucon of Valerian ye .8. emperour of Rome."

Publius Licinius Valerianus was emperor of Rome from 253 to 260 A.D. See the discussion of his reign in Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, chapter x, and compare John Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*, book viii (ed. Henry Bergen, III [1923], 835–838). Lydgate remarks that Valerian himself died "in prisoun at myscheef lik a wrechche" (cf. Thomas Beard's *Theatre of Gods Judgements*, 1631, p. 33). Edwards's comment in line 13, that this "stout and noble deede of his [the Egyptian's] hath got immortall praise," came from Sir Thomas Elyot's *Book Named The Governor*, 1531 (ed. Croft, II [1883], 315 f.), where, after telling the story from Saint Hieronymus, or Jerome (cf. *Vita S. Pauli Eremitæ*, Migne's *Patrologia*, XXIII, 19 f.), Elyot remarks, "Suer I am that he therfore receyued immortall lyfe and perpetuall glorie." Elyot and Edwards have the same order of incidents, the same omissions from the Latin, and similar phraseology. The story is also told in Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 1621, III. §2. ii. 4; in Samuel Clarke's *Mirrour or Looking-Glass both for Saints, and Sinners*, I (1671), 69; in Nathaniel Wanley's *Wonders of the Little World*, 1678, p. 196; in William Turner's *Compleat History of the Most Remarkable Providences*, 1697, ch. xlii, p. 17. W. E. H. Lecky, in his *History of European Morals*, II (1869), 337, calls this "an incredible story." Similar to it, and perhaps equally incredible, is the tale told of Zenocrates and the courtesan Lais: see Diogenes Laertius, iv. 2. 3; Montaigne's *Essays*, book ii, chapter 33. Cf. also the account of the Lord of Beaumont given in Lodge's *Famous, true and historicall life of Robert second Duke of Normandy*, 1591, D2 (*Works*, ed. Hunterian Club, II. i. 23). In the margin of *B* a MS. note declares, "facilius iræ resistitur quam libidini."

57. 10–11 *ronne, ouercome.* Cf. 51. 6–7 n.

26 *suche.* The reading of *E*+, *with*, makes the meaning clearer.

28 *By hym he laied a naked wenche, &c.* A MS. note in *B* says, "so did balaam teach balaac Nu[mbers]: 31.16."

58. 12 (No. 53) *Iustice. Zaleuch and his Sonne.* In every edition (sigs. H–H^{v} in *BC*, H^{v}–H2 in *D*, G3^{v}–G4 in *E*, G3–G3^{v} in *F–I*), and assigned in *B–I* to Richard Edwards. Zaleucus, who flourished *ca.* 660 B. C., was the uncompromising lawgiver of the Locrians. His was the first written code of laws among the Greeks, and one of his edicts (as this ballad tells) provided that adultery should be punished by loss of the eyes. Another law decreed that any citizen who entered the senate-house bearing a weapon should be put to death. In time of war, so the story goes, Zaleucus (or, according to Valerius Maximus, Charondas, a pupil of Zaleucus) thoughtlessly violated this second law, and, when his attention was called to the fact, committed suicide by throwing himself on the point of his sword, declaring that, despite extenuating circum-

stances, the law must be upheld. For references to Zaleucus see the sixth book (i. 8) of Strabo's *Geography;* Aristotle, *Politics*, ii. 12; Diodorus Siculus, xii. 20–21; Cicero, *De Legibus*, ii. 6; Ælian, *Varia Historia*, xiii. 24; Valerius Maximus, vi. 5. ext. 3–4. There is a lengthy discussion of the laws of Zaleucus in Richard Bentley's *Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris*, 1699 (ed. W. Wagner, 1874, pp. 344–363). W. D. Pearman, editing Cicero's *De Legibus* (1881, p. 61 n.), remarks that the names of Zaleucus and Charondas "seem to have been generally coupled together; and the same stories are told of both."

For accounts of Zaleucus and his son see especially Valerius Maximus; Erasmus, *Adagia*, ii. 10. 63; and Thomas Wilson, *The Arte of Rhetorique*, 1560 (ed. G. H. Mair, p. 28). Edwards undoubtedly followed Wilson, as is shown not only by his title of "Justice," but also by verbal parallels and by certain details that occur in Edwards and Wilson but not in the Latin versions. The story is also told in Thomas Salter's *The Contention betweene three Brethren*, 1608, B2^{v} (first edition, 1580), and in some versions of the *Gesta Romanorum* (see J. A. Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances*, III [1910], 206, 214).

Before its inclusion in the *Paradise* Edwards's poem had apparently circulated in ballad-form: it was registered for publication in 1568–69 (Rollins, *Analytical Index*, No. 1343) as a ballad called "the Juste Judgement of Zaleucus agaynste Whoredom." By 1593 Nashe, in his *Christ's Tears over Jerusalem* (*Works*, ed. McKerrow, II, 154 f.), could declare that "The tale of *Seleucus* & hys sonne is stale." But not every one thought so. Bodenham, for instance, in his *Belvedere*, 1600, M2^{v}, quotes from some unidentified source the lines,

> *Zaleucus* to the Locrians made a law,
> To loose their eyes that sinn'd in foule desires.

In his *Amorose Songes*, 1606, F8^{v} (ed. Hunterian Club, p. 96), Alexander Craig included a sonnet on this subject:

Newyeares gift to IDEA.

The *Locrian* King *Zaleucus* made a law,
That each adultrar both his eyes should lose,
But when his Sonne was faultie first he saw,
That sacred Kings haue hid and secret foes,
Incontenent vnto the stage he goes,
And from his Sonne one eye, one of his owne
He caus'd pull out, and in the sight of those
A carefull King, a father kind was knowne.
In *Janus* Kalends faire and louely sweet,
Time out of minde hath been a custome old,
That friends their friends with mutual gifts should greet
To keep true kindnes from becõming cold.
Zaleucus-like these Lines are sent by mee,
To keepe the law and kith my Loue to thee.

Da veniam merui nil ego, iussit amor.

Similar to the Zaleucus story is the account of a Roman consul and his son that Thomas Hoccleve gives in his *Regement of Princes*, 1412 (*Works*, ed. Furnivall, III, 99 f., E. E. T. S.).

59. 4 *Saie now who can . . . Apollo he shalbe.* Borrowed from Virgil (*Eclogues*, iii. 104), "Dic, quibus in terris, et eris mihi magnus Apollo."

5 *Was he more gentle father, &c.* This question is somewhat on the order of that which ends Chaucer's *Franklin's Tale*. It resembles also the questions discussed in the mediæval Courts of Love, and offers for discussion a nice point of casuistry.

6 *This man would not his lawes belike, &c.* Obviously *belike* should, with *E*+, read *be like:* this man didn't wish his laws to be like the webs that spiders weave.

11 (No. 54) *Temperaunce. Spurina and the Romaine Ladies.* In every edition (sigs. H^v in *BC*, H2–$H2^v$ in *D*, G4–$G4^v$ in *E*, $G3^v$–G4 in *F–I*); assigned to F. M. in *A* only, to Richard Edwards in *B–I*. Undoubtedly Edwards wrote the poem. Valerius Maximus (iv. 5. ext. 1) gives the following account of Spurina (Spurinna): "Quod sequitur externis adnectam, quia ante gestum est quam Etruriæ ciuitas daretur. Excellentis in ea regione pulchritudinis adulescens nomine Spurinna, cum mira specie conplurium feminarum inlustrium sollicitaret oculos ideoque uiris ac parentibus earum se suspectum esse sentiret, oris decorem uulneribus confudit deformitatemque sanctitatis suae fidem quam formam inritamentum alienæ libidinis esse maluit." Spurina is mentioned in Petrarch's poem on Chastity, the second of his *Trionfi*. His story is told also by Gower (*Confessio Amantis*, v. 6372–6384; cf. also his *Mirour de l'omme*, lines 18301 ff.) and by Hoccleve (*The Regement of Princes*, 1412, *Works*, ed. Furnivall, III, 134, E. E. T. S.), though neither of these poets mentions the name *Spurina;* also by Lydgate (*The Fall of Princes*, book v, lines 22 ff., and by Lodowick Lloyd (*The Pilgrimage of Princes*, 1607, N3). Gower says:

> Phyryns, which was of mannes kinde
> Above alle othre the faireste
> Of Rome and ek the comelieste,
> That wel was hire which him mihte
> Beholde and have of him a sihte.
> Thus was he tempted ofte sore;
> Bot for he wolde be nomore
> Among the wommen so coveited,
> The beaute of his face streited
> He hath, and threste out bothe hise yhen,
> That alle wommen whiche him syhen
> Thanne afterward, of him ne roghte:
> And thus his maidehiede he boghte.

Hoccleve gives no name at all, and ends his account thus:

> By toknes knew he hire vnclene entente,
> And with his nayles cracched he his face,
> And scocched it with knyues, and to-rente,

And it so wonderly thus gan diffáce,
That his beaute refused hadde hir place:
Al this dide he, hir hertes to remewe
ffrom him, and make hem vnclennesse eschue.

Bodenham, in *Belvedere*, 1600, C2^{v}, quotes from an unidentified poem,

Spurina chose to mangle his faire face,
Rather than be seduc'de from vertuous thoughts.

Mr. Kittredge reminds me that "l'histoire de Spurina" is discussed in Montaigne's *Essays*, book ii, chapter 33. The "story" is very brief: "Spurina, jeune homme de la Toscane . . . estant doué d'une singuliere beauté, et si excessive que les yeux plus continents ne pouvoient en souffrir l'esclat sans alarme [*or* continemment], ne se contentant point de laisser sans secours tant de fièvre et de feu qu'il alloit attisant par tout, entra en furieux despit contre soy-mesmes et contre ces riches presens que nature lui avoit faits, comme si on se devoit prendre à eux de la faute d'autruy, et détailla et troubla, à force de playes qu'il se fit à escient et de cicatrices, la parfaicte proportion et ordonnance que nature avoit si curieusement observée en son visage." Montaigne comments as follows: "Le dessein en fut beau et conscientieux, mais, à mon avis, un peu manque de prudence. Quoy? si sa laideur servit depuis à en jetter d'autres au peché de mespris et de haine ou d'envie pour la gloire d'une si rare recommandation. . . . Il estoit plus juste et aussi plus glorieux qu'il fist de ces dons de Dieu un subject de vertu exemplaire et de reglement." It may be worth adding that in a spurious ballad-manuscript once owned by J. P. Collier and described in his *Extracts from the Registers of the Stationers' Company*, II (1849), ix, the seventy-seventh ballad is entitled "Spurina and the Roman Ladies," and was presumably copied from the *Paradise*.

59. 14–15 *Twixt comelinesse and chastitie, A deadly strife, &c.* Cf. Juvenal, x. 297, "Rara est adeo concordia formæ Atque pudicitiæ"; Pettie, *The Civile Conversation of M. Steeven Guazzo*, 1581 (ed. Sullivan, II [1925], 10 f.), "it is a matter almost impossible, and sieldome seene, that those two great enimies, bewty and honesty agree togither. . . . And though it fall out often that bewty and honesty are joyned togither, yet it falleth out sieldome, but that exquisite bewty is had in suspition"; *Hamlet*, III. i. 111 ff., "the power of beauty will sooner transform honesty from what it is to a bawd than the force of honesty can translate beauty into his likeness"; Draxe, 1616, p. 367, "Faire without, but foule within." Stow's *Annals* (1631 ed., p. 78) contains a paragraph labelled "Chastity before beauty preferred, a rare example," which in some respects parallels the story of Spurina. In the year 870, Stow tells us, "Saint *Ebbe*, Abbesse of Coldingham *6.* miles North from Barwike, cut off her nose and vpperlip, and perswaded all her sisters to doe the like, that they being odible to the Danes, might the better keepe their Virginity, in despite whereof, the Danes burned the Abbey, and the Nunnes therein." "The Lyfe of Ladye

Ebbe" also appears in the *Mirror for Magistrates*, 1578 (ed. Haslewood, 1 [1815], 443–447).

59. 17 *her wil.* For *her* read *their*, with *HI*.

18 *Assaults to tounes, &c.* On this commonplace see 38.11 n.

21 *made.* A faulty rhyme with *can*. Perhaps *a man* is the proper reading.

24 *floud, come.* Observe that *floud* has for its rhyme *plaie*, while *come* (cf. 51.6–7 n.) has *runne*.

32 *to rage.* A good reading, although in *B*+ it is changed to *to range*, i. e., to run after him.

60. 7 *My think.* Read *me think*, with *B*+.

11 (No. 55) *A bunche of herbes, &c.* In every edition (sigs. H2–H2^{v} in *BC*, H2^{v}–H3^{v} in *D*, G4^{v}–H in *E*, G4–G4^{v} in *F–I*), and in every case anonymous.

12 *are shapt.* Read *or shapt* (shaped), with *B*+.

16–17 *Vpon my helme, &c.* Upon my helmet — with my head held high — soon should you see some twig for solace placed there. *There* is pleonastic.

26 *as liketh.* Read *or liketh*, with *B*+.

30 *seke to those.* An idiom for *have recourse to*. In *D*+ *those* becomes *chose* (= choose). Cf. Isaiah xi. 10, "to it shall the Gentiles seek."

33 *Myne authour.* A reference to Ovid's *Heroides*, v. 149, "Me miseram, quod amor non est medicabilis herbis!"

36 *Eche.* This key-word points to 61.3 instead of to 61.2. See also the words at 62.29 and 66.34.

61. 4 *the treasures.* Read *their treasures*, with *F*+.

5 *I wishe no other fees.* I ask for no other fees than the fallen branches. I. e., one can get good pickings from fallen branches if one has a right to them. Foresters esteemed the privilege of collecting and using such branches. Accordingly, the poet is merely emphasizing the value that he (like 'men and beasts and foules') sets upon the trees.

10–18 *The Eue tree, &c.* With this passage compare the tree-lists in Chaucer's *Parliament of Birds*, lines 176–182, and William Browne's *Britannia's Pastorals*, 1613, i. 2 (*Whole Works*, ed. Hazlitt, 1, 65 f.); and see Skeat's references (Chaucer's *Complete Works*, 1, 511 f.) to other famous lists.

14 *The willowe wisht I farre frō hens, &c.* Because willow was a sign of bad luck in love. Sallows (line 15) are also a kind of willow. *Deserue* should probably read *deserues*.

17 *The Eglantine . . . is pricked vpon the poste.* Accordingly, in *L'Allegro* Milton refers to it as "the *twisted* eglantine."

18 *the Baies doe beare the bell.* I. e., the bay, or laurel, surpassed all other trees. In his commendatory verses prefixed to William Browne's *Britannia's Pastorals* (1613), John Selden mentions bays, and explains in a marginal note that "Baies . . . *being the materials of* Poets *Girlands* . . . *are supposed*

not subiect to any hurt of Jupiters *thunderboltes, as other Trees are.*" Cf. also 78.7 n.

61. 20 *that semely tree.* Evidently the poet's sweetheart. No doubt he was thinking of her in terms of Daphne, whom Apollo changed into a bay-tree.

39 *Now.* This key-word should have been printed in italic type in *A*, for it points to an italic word.

62. 2 (No. 56) *Now mortall man, &c.* In *A* and *B* only (sig. $K4^v$ in *B*), and assigned in each to Master Thorn. No. 56 may have been identical with the ballad called "ye vanite of this worlde and the felycite of the worlde to come" that was registered for publication in 1563–64 (Rollins, *Analytical Index*, No. 2805). Other copies of it are preserved in (*R*) MS. Rawlinson Poet. 185, fols. 4^v–5^v (reprinted in my *Old English Ballads*, pp. 265–269), and (*X*) Additional MS. 15,233 (reprinted by Halliwell [-Phillipps] in John Redford's *Moral Play of Wit and Science*, pp. 110 f., Shakespeare Society, 1848). *R* is entitled "A pretie dittie and a pithie intituled O mortall man." The title is then followed by a sub-title, "O mortall man, behold and see,/This world is but a vanetie," and the last line of each stanza is repeated as a refrain. *X* has no title, but prints as a refrain to the first and last stanzas, "Now mortall man, behold and see/This world is but a vanite." The *Paradise* poem (*P*) has eight stanzas, four of which (lines 7–18) are not in *RX*; *R* has eleven stanzas, of which four are in *P*, eight in *X*, and three are unique; *X* has nine stanzas, of which four are in *P*, eight in *R*, and one unique. The total number of stanzas, then, in the three versions is sixteen, and all are reprinted with full collations in my *Old English Ballads*, to which the reader may be referred for complete details. Here it will suffice to reprint the eight additional stanzas, the first six and the eighth of which come from *R*, the seventh from *X:*

If thow be kinge or emperoure,
  prince, ether lord of might or powre,
Thy poore subiectes do not devoure;
  beware of pride and Crueltye,
Lose not thy fame for vanetie,
  lose not thy fame, &c.

If thow be set to do Iustice,
  reward vertue and punish vice;
Oppresse no man, I thee advice;
  abuse not thine aut[h]oritye
To vex poore men for vanetye,
  to vex poor men, &c.

And if thow forten to be poore
  so that thow go from dore to dore,
Humblie giue thankes to god therfore,
  and thinke in thine adversetie,
This world is but a vanetie,
  this world is but, &c.

Yf thow of youth haue oversight,
refraine thy will with all thy might;
For wicked will doth worke his spight.
Let them at no tyme idle bee,
For that encreseth vanetie,
for that encreseth, &c.

If to serve others thow be bent,
serue with goodwill, and be content
To do thy lordes commandement.
Serue trew and eeke painfully,
Do not delight in vanetie,
do not delight, &c.

But if thow haue men's soules in cure,
thy charge is great, I thee assure;
In wordes and deedes thow must be pure,
all vertue must abound in thee.
Thow must eschew all vanetie,
thow must eschew, &c.

Then since ye do perseve right clere,
That all is vayne as doth apeere
Lerne to bestow, while thow art heere,
Your wyt, your powre, your landes, your fees;
Lerne to bestow thes vanitees!

Now let vs pray to god aboue
that he voutsaffe our harts to moue,
Each one another for to loue
and flye from all inyquitie;
So shall we 'voide all vanetie,
so shall we 'voide all vanetie.

The chief verbal differences in the texts of *P*, *R*, and *X* are as follows:

62. 2 Now] O *R*
4 or] and *RX:* assured] vnassured *RX*
6 where] ther *R:* remaineth nought but] All is subiect to *RX*
19 or] and *X:* thou] then *RX:* ỹ] is *RX*
20 thou must make] that thow must *R*
22 or[1]] and *R:* disgrace] deface *R*
24 for to bost of] to be prowed in *R*, to be prowde of *X*
25 cares] care *R*
26 rewardeth] rewardes *R*, rewardth *X*
27 glorious] most perfect *RX:* free from] Voide of *R*
28 M. Thorn] *Om. R*, quod Mr. Thorne *X*

With the title (62.2–3) compare 41.31–32 and the title of a poem in Thomas Howell's *H. His Deuises*, 1581, M2^{v} (*Poems*, ed. Grosart, p. 260):

"Who seekes this Worlds felicitie,
Fyndes nothing else but vanitie."

Seven stanzas of No. 56 are reprinted in Farr's *Select Poetry*, II, 314 f.

62. 4 *assured*. Read *unassured* with *RX* (above, variant to line 4).

16 *leue those pains*. To escape the discomforts of the sea. The poet has in mind the first satire of Horace, especially lines 6 f., "Contra mercator, navem iactantibus Austris, Militia est potior."

29 *Where*. This key-word points to 63.3 instead of to 63.2. See also the words at 60.36 and 66.34.

63. 2 (No. 57) *In commendation of Musick*. In every edition (sigs. $H2^v$ in *BC*, $H3^v$ in *D*, H in *E*, $G4^v$ in *F–I*); assigned to Master Edwards in *A* only, anonymous in *B–I*. Accordingly, although the poem sounds like the work of Edwards, its attribution to him must be regarded as doubtful. The words and the music are reprinted in Sir John Hawkins's *General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, V (1776), 444 f.

In his *Popular Music*, I, 98, Chappell remarks: "During the long reign of Elizabeth, music seems to have been in universal cultivation, as well as in universal esteem. Not only was it a necessary qualification for ladies and gentlemen, but even the city of London advertised the musical abilities of boys educated in Bridewell and Christ's Hospital, as a mode of recommending them as servants, apprentices, or husbandmen. . . . Tinkers sang catches; milkmaids sang ballads; carters whistled; each trade, and even the beggars, had their special songs; the base-viol hung in the drawing-room for the amusement of waiting visitors; and the lute, cittern, and virginals, for the amusement of waiting customers, were the necessary furniture of the barber's shop. They had music at dinner; music at supper; music at weddings; music at funerals; music at night; music at dawn; music at work; and music at play."

Nevertheless, even in this time when music was *sine qua non*, it found some determined opponents, and was subjected to incessant attacks from men of a puritanical bent. The controversy over music waged long in the ballad press. Thomas Brice, a preacher, in his ballad "Against filthy writing, and such like delighting" (Collmann's *Ballads*, p. 36; Collier's *Old Ballads*, p. 49, Percy Society, vol 1, 1840), replying to two or three licentious ballad-writers, remarks apologetically, "We are not foes to musicke wee, a mis your man doth take vs." But in another ballad, *ca.* 1560 (MS. Ashmole 48, No. 3, ed. Thomas Wright, Roxburghe Club, 1860), Henry Spooner wrote vigorously against those persons who objected to teaching music to young girls; in 1562–63 Nicholas Whight entered the lists with "A commendation of Musicke, And a confutation of them which disprayse it" (Collmann's *Ballads*, p. 275); and in the same year the ballad-writer Churchyard produced "a boke intituled *the commendation of musyke*" (Arber's *Transcript of the Stationers' Registers*, I, 205). No. 57, then, conforms to type. For a later ballad in which Jacobean opponents of music are attacked, see my *Old English Ballads*, pp. 142–146.

3 *Where gripyng grief, &c.* The next to the last word in this line, *thē*, should read *the mind*, with *B*+. This poem has been immortalized by being

quoted (from some other edition than *A*) in *Romeo and Juliet*, IV. v. 125–148. The passage runs:

Pet[er]. I will dry-beat you with an iron wit, and put up my iron dagger. Answer me like men:

"When griping grief the heart doth wound,
And doleful dumps the mind oppress,
Then music with her silver sound" —

why "silver sound"? why "music with her silver sound"? What say you, Simon Catling?

First Mus[ician]. Marry, sir, because silver hath a sweet sound.

Pet. Pretty! What say you, Hugh Rebeck?

Sec. Mus. I say "silver sound," because musicians sound for silver.

Pet. Pretty too! What say you, James Soundpost?

Third Mus. Faith, I know not what to say.

Pet. O, I cry you mercy; you are the singer: I will say for you. It is "music with her silver sound," because musicians have no gold for sounding:

"Then music with her silver sound
With speedy help doth lend redress."

Exit.

First Mus. What a pestilent knave is this same!

Sec. Mus. Hang him, Jack!

The second line of the poem is quoted by Fortunatus in Dekker's play of *Old Fortunatus*, 1600 (*Dramatic Works*, ed. Pearson, I, 97): "Yet I feele nothing here to make mee rich, heres no sweete Musicke with her siluer sound." In his *Satiro-mastix*, 1602 (ed. Scherer, 1907, p. 26), Dekker writes, "Musicke talke lowder, that thy siluer voice, May reach my Soueraignes eares." Cf. the poem in H. C.'s *Forrest of Fancy*, 1579 (Farr's *Select Poetry*, II, 479), beginning "When griping greefes do greeue the minde"; and 36.28 n.

The ballad was reprinted, from a copy preserved in MS. Cotton Vespasian A. xxv (ed. Boeddeker, *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Sprache*, N. F., II, 213), in Bishop Percy's *Reliques*, 1765 (ed. Wheatley, I, 188 f.). The variations in Percy's version are as follows:

63. 3 grief] grefes: thē] the mynde
4 is . . . spede] With spede is wont: giue] send
5 minde] mynds: for] in: therfore] in store
6 grief] woe
7 The carefull head release] Be-strawghted heads relyef
8 sences] senses all: should] shall
9 hath their praie] have theire prayse: the foule] The lyfe, the soul
10 Poets saie] poet sayes
12 A] O: turnes] rules: like] Even
13 Musick] O musicke
14 Sith] Since: wiseman then] beste ys he: reproue] disprove
15 Finis, &c.] *Om*.

63. 6 *it chers our heauy sprights*. Cf. Spenser, *Prosopopoia*, 1591, lines 754–756,

he doth recoyle
Unto his rest, and there with sweete delight
Of musicks skill revives his toyled spright.

63. 7 *release.* The reading of *B*+, *relief*, is preferable.

9 *their praie, &c.* In *HI* the reading is *their prey, the fish, &c.*, which restores the octameter movement. Undoubtedly, however, in place of *praie* and *foule* we should read *praise* and *soul.*

10–11 *as the Romaine Poets saie, &c.* A very curious arrangement of clauses, which mean: As the Roman poets say, Arion, whom pirates wished to kill (by drowning him) in the sea, a dolphin (attracted to the ship by the music of his harp) saved from a terrible death. Arion, poet and musician of Lesbos, is supposed to have lived about 625 B.C. The story about him is told in Herodotus, i. 23–24, in Aulus Gellius, xvi. 19, and, among other places, in William Bullokar's *Æsop's Fables*, 1585 (ed. Max Plessow, *Palaestra*, LII [1906], 80 f.). Allusions to Arion abound in Elizabethan works: e. g., in Lodge's *Reply to Gosson*, 1580? (*Works*, ed. Hunterian Club, I. ii. 26); in Whitney's *Choice of Emblemes*, 1586 (ed. Green, p. 144); in Spenser's *Amoretti*, 1595, sonnet 38; and cf. Weelkes's *Madrigals*, 1600, quoted above, 36.28 n.

12 *A.* Perhaps the reading should be *O*, with *BCHI.* An exclamation seems appropriate here, though, to be sure, *A* could itself equal *Ah.*

16 (No. 58) *Beware of Sirens.* This poem is in *A* only. I have inserted the title and number solely for the sake of uniformity and convenience of reference. On the stanza-form see 22.13 n.

27 *meane where.* Read *meane* (= means) *whereof.*

64. 14–15 *And if . . . You wisht . . . learne.* And if you wish your wit to learn (get) information where Circe now doth dwell. *Wisht* evidently should be the present tense *wish*, and *you witt* should be *your witt.*

16 *I am she.* Read *I am he.*

21 (No. 59) *Findyng no ioye, &c.* In every edition (sigs. H3–H3^{v} in *BC*, H4 in *D*, H^{v}–H2 in *E*, H–H^{v} in *F–I*), and assigned in each to William Hunnis. After the title a MS. note in *B* says, "nihil tutum."

24 *His Berrie rounde about besett.* I. e., his burrow. Cf. Timothy Kendall, *Flowers of Epigrammes*, 1577, C7 (ed. Spenser Society, p. 61), "The little Conie loues to scoute, In Berries, that are digged out"; Pettie, *The Civile Conversation of M. Steeven Guazzo*, 1581 (ed. Sullivan, I [1925], 189), "you shall see some houses so ful of Gentlemen . . . that every one of them hath scarce a little hole to shrowd himselfe in: and they come at diverse doores so thick as it were conies out of a Berrie."

28 *to rest.* The reading *no rest* in *D*+ is unnecessary. The infinitive *to rest* is used in a conditional sense: If I remain in love, unkindness (of my lady) pursues me (as the ferret does the coney which stays in his burrow.)

29 *whiche.* The antecedent of *whiche* is *his.*

65. 5 *hears.* Faulty rhyme with *professe.*

9 (No. 60) *Hope well and haue well.* In every edition (sigs. H3^{v} in *BC*, H4^{v} in *D*, H2 in *E*, H^{v} in *F–I*), and assigned in each to William Hunnis. The title is proverbial. Cf. Hazlitt's *English Proverbs*, p. 217, where the Latin phrase "Crede quod habes et habes," and Thomas Fuller's *Gnomologia* (1732) are

cited. The proverb occurs in *The Bugbears*, *ca.* 1563, IV. v (Herrig's *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, XCIX [1897], 40), as "hope well & hare [*read* have] well"; in Heywood's *Works*, 1562, p. 74, as "Beleue well, and haue well, men say"; in J. Gruter, 1611, II, 178, as "Hope wel and haue wel"; and in Draxe, 1616, p. 387, as "Hope well, haue well."

65. 23 (No. 61) *He repenteth his folly.* This poem is in *A* only. It was written by Sir Thomas Wyatt, and appeared in Tottel's *Miscellany*, 1557, pp. 76 f. The signature of W[illiam]. H[unnis]. is, then, to be disregarded, unless Hunnis revised (not always for the better) Wyatt's lines. (Mrs. Stopes, in her *William Hunnis*, p. 188, says of No. 61 that "it appeared in the edition of 1577, attributed to Hunnis, and curiously enough in the edition of 1578 also." This is a strange remark — all the stranger since [cf. p. xviii, above] she had never seen the 1577 edition.) In the present version the last stanza (66.5–7) is an addition not in Tottel's, while after the first stanza (65.24–26) the following lines from Tottel's are omitted:

> And when my lips gan first to moue,
> Wherby my hart to thee was knowne:
> And when my tong did talk of loue,
> To thee that hast true loue down throwne:
> I would, my lips, and tong also:
> Had then bene dum, no deale to go.

Other variations between the two texts are as follows:

65. 24 beutie faire for] faire beawtie
25 gan first] listned
27 did handle oft] haue handled ought: might thee kepe] thee hath kept
28 had gone so softe] haue gone, and sought: haue] geat (i. e., get)
29 eke] I: so] had
66. 2 thus] this
3 self] life
4 or els] Orels: as soft] had bene

The title of No. 61 occurs again at 107.12.

29 *eke . . . so seen.* The reading of Tottel's *Miscellany*, *I . . . had seen*, is preferable.

66. 9 (No. 62) *He requesteth some frendly comfort, &c.* In every edition (sigs. $H3^v$–H4 in *BC*, $H4^v$–I in *D*, H2–$H2^v$ in *E*, H^v–H2 in *F–I*), and assigned in each to Richard Edwards.

16 *The Eagle . . . is borne of kyngs.* Carried, e. g., on shields, helmets, or standards.

17 *poisoned waies.* Evidently *waies* is a misprint for *iawes* (*B*+).

21 *shall last tyme out of minde.* A proverbial phrase. Cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, I. iv. 69, "Time out o' mind the fairies' coachmakers"; and Craig's sonnet quoted in the notes to 58.12.

29 *sende againe to me.* Send back again (a letter of greeting). Cf. line 30.

34 *Shall.* This key-word points to 67.3 instead of to 67.2. See also the words at 60.36 and 62.29.

67. 2 (No. 63) *He complaineth his mishapp.* In every edition (sigs. H4 in *BC*, I in *D*, H2^{v} in *E*, H2 in *F–I*), and assigned in each to William Hunnis.

3 *youth.* Read *ruth* (pity), with *B*+.

13 *berent my harte.* I. e., berend my heart; but *B*+ have *berent my hairs*, as the rhyme demands.

16 *to witt and will, their counsels, to ensue.* I'll make a vow to Wit and Will to follow their counsels.

18 *seme.* A faulty rhyme.

22 (No. 64) *No foe to a flatterer.* In every edition (sigs. H4–H4^{v} in *BC*, I–I^{v} in *D*, H2^{v}–H3 in *E*, H2–H2^{v} in *F–I*), and assigned in *B–I* to William Hunnis.

24 *not blinde although I winke.* Proverbial. Cf. the *Handful*, line 1496, "Although I wincke, I am not blind." Usually the proverb is applied to a cat, as in the *Handful*, lines 1133 f., "Although the Cat doth winke a while, yet sure she is not blinde." Cf. also *A new Enterlued . . . named Jacke Jugeler, ca.* 1550, E3^{v},

> Sumwhat it was sayeth the prouerbe olde
> That the Catte winked when here iye was out
> That is to saye no tale can be tolde
> But that sum Englyshe maye be piked therof out;

Samuel Rowlands, *A Whole Crew of Kind Gossips*, 1609, C2^{v}, "I say no more, there's somewhat in the winde, *The Cat oft winkes, and yet she is not blinde*"; and Hazlitt's *English Proverbs*, p. 416.

25 *bloudy.* The reading of *B*+, *boldned*, seems preferable. But *bloudy* (meaning *bloodthirsty*) makes sense: Craft creeps into bloodthirsty (murderous) breast, i. e., craft comes to the aid of murder.

27 *the Serpent lye and lurck.* Cf. 21.9 n.

68. 2–3 *face, golde.* Both of these words violate the rhyming-scheme.

3 *all is not golde, that glittereth.* Cf. 10.22 n.

4 *as now by profe I finde.* For *finde* the rhyme demands *try* (the reading in *B*+). The meaning is, Now by experience I find to be true.

5 *secret spight . . . hath made a coate of Panters skin.* Probably this means that secret spite cajoles by flattery. Evidently there is an allusion to the legendary sweet smell of the panther. In his *Natural History*, viii. 23, Pliny says of panthers: "It is said that all quadrupeds are attracted in a most wonderful manner by their odour, while they are terrified by the fierceness of their aspect; for which reason the creature conceals its head, and then seizes upon the animals that are attracted to it by the sweetness of the odour." Pliny further remarks (xxi. 18) that no animal except the panther has any such odor, and his statement is supported by Aristotle (*Historia Animalium*, ix. 6) and Ælian (*De Natura Animalium*, v. 40). Accordingly, in the Middle English *Bestiary* (Richard Morris, *An Old English Miscellany*, pp. 23 f., E. E. T. S., 1872) the panther — from whose mouth comes a surpassingly sweet odor that entices animals to follow him — is made to typify Christ. Richard Niccols, in the

Mirror for Magistrates, 1610 (ed. Haslewood, III [1815], 768), says that "The panther with sweet sauour of her breath First charmes their sense, whom she hath markt for deathe"; Humphrey Mill, in *The Second Part of The Nights Search*, 1646, p. 26, has,

> The Panther drawes men with his pleasing sent
> Into, or neare his den; when his intent
> Is to devoure 'em. So the Devill drawes
> The sinners in, where with his sharper clawes
> He teares their flesh;

while Swinburne writes in *Laus Veneris*,

> As one who hidden in deep sedge and reeds
> Smells the rare scent made where a panther feeds,
> And tracking ever slotwise the warm smell
> Is snapped upon by the sweet mouth and bleeds,
>
> His head far down the hot sweet throat of her.

68. 9 *tyme shall trie the thyng.* The usual proverbial expression is "Time trieth all things." Thus in *The Winter's Tale*, IV. i. 1, Time says, "I, that please some, try all." See Hazlitt's *English Proverbs*, p. 419.

12 (No. 65) *His comparison of Loue.* In every edition (sigs. $H4^v$ in *BC*, I^v in *D*, H3 in *E*, $H2^v$ in *F–I*), and assigned in each to William Hunnis. The title, not in *A*, occurs in *B–I*. Opposite the title a MS. note in *B* adds, "an endlesse worke."

16 *A blast of winde, &c.* Cf. Spenser, *Amoretti*, 1595, sonnet 23, "Such labour like the spyders web I fynd, Whose fruitlesse worke is broken with least wynd."

19 *Or, the.* The readings of *B+*, *and, a*, are preferable.

21 *staie.* Rhyme and sense demand the reading *try*.

25 *throwne downe.* Read *down thrown* for the sake of rhyme.

28 *Those.* The reading *Whose* might be expected.

30 (No. 66) *Euill to hym that euill thinketh.* In every edition (sigs. I in *BC*, I2 in *D*, $H3^v$ in *E*, H3 in *F–I*), and assigned in each to Richard Edwards. The title, which occurs in *B–I* but not in *A*, is reminiscent of the motto of the Order of the Garter, "Honi soit qui mal y pense." In Camden's *Proverbs*, 1614, p. 330 (and also in J. Gruter, 1611, II, 183), it appears in the form of "Shame take him that shame thinketh"; in Draxe, 1616, p. 409, it is "Shame be to him that ill thinketh." Another copy of No. 66 is in Additional MS. 28,635, fol. 106^v.

69. 8 *I see the serpent vile, &c.* Cf. 21.9 n.

10 *his fosters bane, &c.* His leering looks reveal the fact that he is (will be) the death of whoever shall foster him — a reference to the well-known fable of Æsop. Cf. Lodge and Greene, *A Looking-Glass for London and England*, *ca.* 1590, $E3^v$ (Lodge's *Works*, ed. Hunterian Club, IV. ii. 36), "He plaies the Serpent right, describ'd in *Æsopes* tale, That soughtt the fosters death, that

lately gaue him life." Artemus Ward somewhere remarks, "I've been nussin' a adder in my bosom."

69. 17 (No. 67) *He assureth his constancie.* In every edition (sigs. I–I^{v} in *BC*, I2–I2^{v} in *D*, H3^{v}–H4 in *E*, H3–H3^{v} in *F–I*); assigned in *A* to M. B. (Master Bewe), in *B–I* to William Hunnis. The latter must be regarded as the author of the poem. The title is not in *A* but occurs in *B–I*. Mrs. Stopes (*Shakespeare's Industry*, p. 288) comments somewhat vaguely, "This poem is particularly interesting as it contains the nearest foreshadowing of the thoughts in some of Shakespeare's sonnets, which resemblance has not yet been noted." In *BC* the title stands awkwardly at the very foot of the page (cf. 82.19 n.).

20 *shall.* The subject is, of course, *I* in line 18.

28 *The fruite shall trie the tree.* Cf. Matthew xii. 33, "the tree is known by his fruit"; Luke vi. 44, "every tree is known by his own fruit."

70. 5 (No. 68) *Trie and then trust.* This poem is in *A* only. The title is proverbial: cf. 28.7 n. On the stanza-form see 17.2 n.

6 *The sainct I serue.* My "lady," or sweetheart. Cf. 46.28 n.

9 *And fed my faunyng frende, &c.* This phrase makes no sense. The context requires *And fed me, feigning friend, with dainty food*, with the words *feigning friend* referring to the *sainct* (or sweetheart) of line 6.

10 *words are nought but winde.* Proverbial. Cf. Humfrey Gifford, *A Posie of Gilloflowers*, 1580, M4^{v} (*Complete Poems*, ed. Grosart, p. 104), "Your words are winde, your sute is wast"; Anthony Munday, *The Pleasant Comedy of Two Italian Gentlemen*, 1584, F2 (Malone Society reprint), "What hast thou solde? Nothing but wordes, What hast thou got? Nothing but winde"; Richard Barnfield, *The Complaint of Poetrie*, 1598 (*Poems*, ed. Arber, p. 99), "Wordes are but winde; and winde is all but vaine"; Bodenham, *Belvedere*, 1600, M5^{v}, "Words are but wind, they bid, but doe not buy"; Draxe, 1616, p. 390, "Words are but winde, but blowes are vnkinde." See also the *Handful*, p. 109, and the *Gorgeous Gallery*, p. 161.

11 *sweter meate, the sowrer sauce.* Proverbial. Cf. 8.33, 110.25; *Colyn Blowbols Testament* (Hazlitt's *Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England*, 1 [1864], 98), "Sharpe sawce was ordeigned for swete mete"; *A new Enterlued . . . named Jacke Jugeler, ca.*1550, D2^{v}, "And it hath byn a saying, oftyme long That swete mete woll haue soure sauce among"; *Mirror for Magistrates*, 1587 (ed. Haslewood, 1 [1815], 76), "The prouerbe sayth, sweete meate will haue of sauces sower"; Heywood's *Works*, 1562, pp. 16, 44, "And although it were sweete for a weeke or twayne, Sweete meate will haue sowre sawce, I see now playne," "And whan she sawe sweete sauce began to waxe soure, She waxt as sowre as he"; Robert Tofte, *Alba*, 1598 (ed. Grosart, 1880, p. 108), "Sweet meate sowre sauce deserues"; Camden's *Proverbs*, 1614, p. 331, "Sweet meat will have sowre sauce"; William Browne, *The Shepheards Pipe*, 1614, sixth eclogue (*Whole Works*, ed. Hazlitt, II, 228), "Sweet meat, sowre sauce"; Martin Parker, "Good Newes from the North," 1640 (Rollins, *Cavalier and*

Puritan, 1923, p. 104), "Sweet meat must have sowre sauce alway." See also Draxe, 1616, p. 402.

70. 12 *helde the Ele by the taile.* Proverbial. Cf. Heywood's *Works*, 1562, p. 170, "Take tyme when tyme cumth, asay to be bolde of it, But slyper as an eeles tayle is the holde of it"; *The Passionate Morrice*, 1593 (ed. Furnivall, p. 88, New Shakspere Society, 1876), "Is it not folly to striue to keepe a wet Eele by the taile"; Porter, *The Two Angry Women of Abingdon*, 1599, H3 (*Tudor Facsimile Texts*), "who so euer hath her, hath but a wet Eele by the taile"; Jervase (or Gervase) Markham, *The Newe Metamorphosis*, 1600–1615 (J. H. H. Lyon, *A Study*, etc., 1919, p. 216),

> Is not an Eles tayle, a most slippery hold?
> whence comes the proverbe that's as true as old.
> *Y'are even as good hold a wette Ele by the tayle*
> *as to repose a trust in Women fraile;*

Draxe, 1616, p. 416, "He holdeth a wet eele by the taile"; Nathaniel Field, *Amends for Ladies*, 1618, IV. iii, "O ancient truth! to be denied of no man: An eel by the tail's held surer than a woman"; Hazlitt's *English Proverbs*, p. 504 (quoting from Walker's *Paræmiologia*, 1672), "You have a wet eel by the tail."

15 *to take the Wolfe, by the eare.* Proverbial for a dangerous or a desperate situation. Cf. Terence, *Phormio*, III. ii. 21, "auribus teneo lupum"; Tottel's *Miscellany*, 1557, p. 155, "Shalbe as free from cares and feares, As he that holds a wolfe by the eares"; *Mirror for Magistrates*, 1587, ed. Haslewood, II (1815), 403, "Hee hath a raging wolfe fast by the ears"; John Chamberlain, 1614 (Birch, *The Court and Times of James I*, I [1848], 289), "*Lupum auribus tenet* — he knows not how to hold, nor how to let go"; Draxe, 1616, pp. 370, 401, "A medlar is as he that taketh a wolfe by the eares," "He holdeth a wolfe by the eares"; Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, 1621, III. §2. v. 5, "in the mean time their [i. e., lovers'] case is desperate, *Lupum auribus tenent*, they hold a wolf by the ears"; Hazlitt's *English Proverbs*, p. 433 (quoting from Walker's *Paræmiologia*, 1672, and from Ray's *Proverbs*, 1737), "To have a wolf by the ears." The metre would be benefited by the omission of *the* in *by the eare.*

16 *like to Esops dogg.* For similar references to the well-known fable, compare Spenser, *The Shepherds' Calendar*, 1579 ("September," lines 59–61), "To leave the good that I had in hande, In hope of better, that was uncouth: So lost the dogge the flesh in his mouth"; Pettie, *The Civile Conversation of M. Steeven Guazzo*, 1581 (ed. Sullivan, I [1925], 135), "with Esopes Dogge, letteth fall the fleshe, to catche the shadow"; Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes*, 1586 (ed. Green, p. 39), "Let suche behoulde, the greedie dogge to moane, By brooke deceau'd, with shaddow of his boane"; Thomas Edwards, *Cephalus and Procris*, 1595 (ed. Roxburghe Club, p. 51), "For see how *Esops* dog was quite forgone, And lost the substance weening further gaine"; *The First Booke of the*

Preservation of King Henry the vii, 1599 (Collier's reprint, 1866, p. 17), "Do but as Æsops dogge, that a substance lost for a shaddow"; Henry Crosse, *Vertues Common-wealth*, 1603, G3 (ed. Grosart, p. 49), "snatching at vncertaintie, like *Esops* dog, [Darius, Alexander, and others] lost that they were sure of before"; *Two Wise Men and All the Rest Fools*, 1619, L2^{v} (*Tudor Facsimile Texts*), "For this *Esops* dog will learne to hold the next piece better, then to be deluded with a shadow of double gaine"; Mabbe, *The Rogue*, 1623 (ed. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, 1 [1924], 93), "That hapned unto me, which befell the Dogge in the Fable with the shadow of his piece of flesh in the water."

70. 17 *alwaies caught a frogg*. Proverbial. Cf. Sir Thomas More, *The Boke of the fayre Gentylwoman . . . Lady Fortune*, 1540 (Huth's *Fugitive Tracts*, First Series),

> Lo in this ponde, be fysshes and frogges both
> Cast in your net, but be ye lyefe or loth
> Holde you content as Fortune lyst assygne
> It is your owne fysshynge and not myne;

Heywood's *Works*, 1562, p. 26, "But now he hath well fysht and caught a frog"; Churchyard, *The Firste Parte of Churchyardes Chippes*, 1575 (Collier's reprint, p. 33),

> I would not, sure, be bound to such a clogg,
> That would me rob of reason and good skill,
> And in the ende but fishe and catch a frogg;

Lyly, *Euphues and his England*, 1580 (*Works*, ed. Bond, II, 173), "Madame quoth *Surius* you haue caught a Frog"; Marston, Chapman, and Jonson, *Eastward Ho*, 1605, IV. ii, "Surely, in my mind, your ladyship hath fished fair, and caught a frog, as the saying is"; Draxe, 1616, p. 411, "Hee hath fished well, and caught a frogge"; the ballad of "A Fooles Bolt is soone shot," 1629 (Rollins, *A Pepysian Garland*, p. 318),

> The Man that wedds for greedy wealth,
> he goes a fishing faire,
> But often times he gets a Frog,
> or very little share.

Cf. also Foxe's *Martyrs* (1641 ed., III, 483), and the notes in my *Handful*, p. 101.

18 *bite, on the fomyng bitt*. Proverbial. Cf. 74.5; Froissart, *La prison amoureuse*, line 843 (*Œuvres*, ed. Scheler, I, 239), "Je puis assés mon frain rongnier"; memorandum of a council of state, 1564, in Philip II's *Correspondance sur les affaires des Pays-Bas*, I (1848), 294 n. (quoted in Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, I, 409 n.), "les laisser encoires quelque peu ronger le frain sur cecy"; Wyatt, "How to Use the Court and Himself" (*Works*, Aldine ed., p. 196), "Let the old mule bite upon the bridle"; Greene, *The Scottish Historie of James the Fourth, ca.* 1591, I. ii (*Plays*, ed. Collins, II, 102), "euer chewing on the bridle"; Middleton, *The Family of Love*, 1607, I. iii (*Works*, ed. Bullen, III,

25), "let such as will be headstrong bite on the bridle"; Mabbe, *Celestina*, 1631 (ed. Allen, p. 11), "Let him bide alone and bite upon the bit"; Foote, *The Maid of Bath*, 1778 ed., p. 32, "Fools that are idle May live to bite the bridle" (another 1778 edition, without Foote's name on the title-page, has the proverb at p. 34, "Your folks that are idle," etc.). I am indebted to Mr. Kittredge for the foregoing references. See also Hazlitt's *English Proverbs*, p. 424; Heywood's *Works*, 1562, p. 71, "Where I should haue brydled her fyrst with rough bit, To haue made hir chew on the brydell one fit"; Greene's *Menaphon*, 1589 (*Works*, ed. Grosart, VI, 111), "who alreadie had sufficiently bitten on the bridle."

70. 19 *found me plaie enough.* Gave me rein (liberty) enough to love.

25 (No. 69) *Complainyng to his frende, &c.* In every edition (sigs. I^v–I2 in *BC*, $I2^v$–I3 in *D*, H4–$H4^v$ in *E*, $H3^v$–H4 in *F–I*, but *G* lacks sig. H4), and assigned in *A–FHI* to Richard Edwards. The poem is obviously imitated by that at 73.28; perhaps both were written to be sung to the same tune, although the name of the tune and the music for it are not known.

32 *light loue will chaunge.* Cf. Alexander Craig, *Amorose Songes*, 1606, $E3^v$ (ed. Hunterian Club, p. 70), "Thy loue was lightlie won, and lost for lesse"; and the proverbs (as given in R. C.'s *The Times' Whistle*, 1616, ed. Cowper, p. 89, E. E. T. S.), "'But lightly come,' we say, 'doth lightly goe,'" and (see my notes in the *Handful*, p. 87) "hot love soon cold."

71. 2 *reclaime.* Read *reclaimd.*

10 *preach.* This word, which shows a not uncommon metathesis of the *r*, is, of course, *pearch* (perch).

31 (No. 70) *No paines comparable, &c.* This poem is in *A* only. Perhaps similar to it was the ballad of "the perilous paynes of poore maryners," which was licensed for publication on October 13, 1579 (Rollins, *Analytical Index*, No. 2067). At this very place (i. e., following No. 69) in *B+* stands Hunnis's shorter poem — No. 107 below — of the same title as No. 70 in *A*.

72. 4 *A bedlesse borde.* This seems to mean a table but no bed; or, better still, a mere plank without a bed to sleep on. The earliest example of *bedless* in the *N. E. D.*, by the way, dates from 1864!

8 *oft tymes.* Read *oft tyme* for the sake of a (bad) rhyme.

9 *No nere, when how the master blowes.* "No nearer," he calls, when "How?" the master of the ship cries out. *How?* refers to the soundings.

25 (No. 71) *No pleasure without some paine.* In every edition (sigs. $I2^v$ in *BC*, $I3^v$ in *D*, $H4^v$–I in *E*, H4–$H4^v$ in *FHI*, torn out of *G*), and assigned in *A–FHI* to Lord Vaux. On the stanza-form see 17.2 n. Another copy (without a title) of No. 71 is reprinted from William Barley's *New Book of Tabliture* (1596, song 7) in Collier's *Lyrical Poems, Selected from Musical Publications*, p. 31 (Percy Society, vol. XIII, 1844), and in Wilhelm Bolle's *Die gedruckten englischen Liederbücher bis 1600*, pp. 120 f. (*Palaestra*, vol. XXIX, 1903). Bolle's reprint varies in the following slight particulars:

72. 25 *title*] *Om.*
28 that] the: fade] vade

72. 30 you] I (*so presumably throughout, though all but the first four words of the refrain are omitted elsewhere*)
31 knoweth] knowes
73. 2 light] sight
6 serue] serves
12 Finis. L. Vaux] *Om.*

Bolle notes that the poem appears in Grosart's *Miscellanies of the Fuller Worthies' Library*, IV (1872), 371 f.; in W. J. Linton's *Rare Poems of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (1883), p. 7; in Harleian MS. 6910, fol. 168^{v}; in Additional MS. 24,665; in Lute MSS., Dd. IV. 23 (Cambridge University Library); and in Chappell's *Popular Music*, I (1893), 72, where the music is given. An editorial note to Chappell shows that a copy appears also in "Giles Earle's Songbook, 1626" (which I have not seen). A poem in Thomas Deloney's *Strange Histories*, 1602 (*Works*, ed. F. O. Mann, 1912, pp. 405 ff.), is directed to be sung to the tune of *How can the tree*. No. 71 is also preserved in a MS. copy of two folio pages in the Chetham Library, Manchester. Halliwell-Phillipps reprints the first stanza in his *Catalogue of Proclamations, Broadsides, Ballads, and Poems* (1851), No. 1200, describing the MS. as a "curious fragment (not unlike some compositions of Herrick or Withers)."

No. 71 is imitated in *Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes*, printed 1599 (*The Works of George Peele*, ed. Bullen, II, 153), where Neronis says (or, as Bullen suggests, perhaps reads):

> How can that tree but wither'd be,
> That wanteth sap to moist the root?
> How can that vine but waste and pine,
> Whose plants are trodden under foot?
> How can that spray but soon decay,
> That is with wild weeds overgrown?
> How can that wight in aught delight,
> Which shows and hath no good-will shown?
> Or else how can that heart, alas,
> But die, by whom each joy doth pass?

The title of No. 71 occurs also at 8.17.

72. 34 *But.* Read *Or.*

73. 8 *But all of plaints.* No idea except of laments grows, since sorrow is the basis (of his thoughts).

13 (No. 72) *The fruites of fained frendes.* In every edition (sigs. I2^{v}–I3 in *BC*, I4 in *D*, I in *E*, H4^{v} in *FHI*, torn out of *G*), and assigned in *A–FHI* to William Hunnis. Two additional lines by Edwards are inserted after line 27 in *B–FHI:* see No. 109 (p. 107). After the title a MS. note in *B* says, "Vide 68" (i. e., No. 64).

16 *noise.* I. e., music; but probably the word should be *voice*, as in *B*+.

17 *In trust . . . is treason.* Draxe (1616, p. 414) includes this saying among his "adagies."

73. 20 *the nature of the Crokadill.* Mandeville (*Travels*, chapter xxxi) says of crocodiles that they "slay men, and they eat them weeping." Lodge (*Euphues Shadow*, 1592, E2, *Works*, ed. Hunterian Club, II. iii. 35) phrases it, "the Crocodile weepeth when shee wyll deuoure." In 1565 (Richard Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*, ed. John Masefield, VII, 33) Sir John Hawkins saw in the Rio de la Hacha crocodiles "as bigge as a boate," and declared that the nature of a crocodile "is ever when hee would have his prey, to cry and sobbe like a Christian body, to provoke them to come to him, and then hee snatcheth at them, and thereupon came this proverbe that is applied unto women when they weepe, Lachrymæ Crocodili, the meaning whereof is, that as the Crocodile when hee crieth, goeth then about most to deceive, so doeth a woman most commonly when she weepeth." The fable and the proverb, which survive in the modern phrase of "crocodile tears," were not known to the classical writers. Cf. 110.11.

25 *Whiche still.* The antecedent is *flatterer*, line 23.

28 (No. 73) *Beyng importunate, &c.* In every edition (sigs. I3–I3^{v} in *BC*, I4–I4^{v} in *D*, I–I^{v} in *E*, H4^{v}–I in *F–I*, but *G* lacks sig. H4^{v}); assigned to M. B. (Master Bewe) in *A* only, to Master Edwards in *B–I*, where it is called "A Dialogue between a Gentleman and his Love." It seems safe to credit Edwards with the authorship of the poem, which is a companion-piece to his song No. 69, above.

31 *that [I] craue. I* appears in all editions except *A*, and is necessary for the sense.

74. 5 *plaie on the bitt.* See 70.18 n.

26 *women maie saie naie, and meane loue.* Cf. *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, I. ii. 55 f., "maids, in modesty, say 'no' to that Which they would have the profferer construe 'ay'"; *Richard III*, III. vii. 51, "Play the maid's part, still answer nay, and take it"; *The Passionate Pilgrim*, 1599, song xix, stanza 7, "Have you not heard it said full oft, A woman's nay doth stand for nought?"; William Rowley, *A Search for Money*, 1609, p. 32 (Percy Society, vol. II, 1840), "we had scarce the maydes manners to say nay and take it, but to take before we say nay"; "A pleasant Ditty of a mayden's vow," 1633 (*Roxburghe Ballads*, II, 201; Rollins, *Analytical Index*, No. 1649), "A mayden's 'no' proves often 'aye'."

75. 2 *worke your kinde kindly.* Perform your natural intentions kindly.

12 (No. 74) *Requiryng the fauour, &c.* In every edition (sigs. I3^{v}–I4 in *BC*, I4^{v}–K^{v} in *D*, I2–I2^{v} in *E*, I^{v}–I2 in *F–I*), and assigned in each to E. S. In *B+* the title is, "Exclaiming upon his Unkind Love, his Friend Replieth Wittily."

20 *I burne alas, and blowe the fire.* Evidently a proverb. It is repeated at 93.28. Cf 90.25.

23 *H., M.* Read *M., H.*, with *B+*. So, too, in line 33.

25 *Thy Ladie can not doe with all.* Thy sweetheart cannot help it — it is not her fault.

75. 27 *striue not with the streame.* Proverbial. Cf. Draxe, 1616, pp. 366, 389; my notes in the *Gorgeous Gallery*, p. 155; and 81.16.

33 *H., M.* Cf. line 23 n., above.

76. 3 *Vpon the Sonne . . . not gaze.* Cf. La Rochefoucauld's twenty-sixth maxim, "Le soleil ni la mort ne se peuvent regarder fixement."

14 *once againe.* Read *once gain*, with *B*+.

15 *the paine.* The reading of *E*+, *thy pain*, is preferable.

23 (No. 75) *A louers ioye.* In every edition (sigs. I in *BC*, I^{v}–I2 in *D*, H3–$H3^{v}$ in *E*, $H2^{v}$–H3 in *F–I*), and assigned in each to Francis Kinwelmarsh.

25 *A ioye I withstoode, &c.* A rather rough line, unless the first syllable of *withstoode* is accented and the following *to enioye* is slurred into two syllables. The easiest emendation would be to omit *A*. See, in the Misprints, how *D*+ try to avoid this rough movement, and how in so doing they destroy the heptameter movement of the line.

30 *I knowe not I.* The repetition of *I* is a favorite Elizabethan mannerism. Cf., for example, Lodge, *An Alarum against Usurers*, 1584, L3 (*Works*, ed. Hunterian Club, I. iii. 89), "I know not I whence come these wayward woes"; and see the examples cited in my *Gorgeous Gallery*, p. 190. Cf. 122.26 n.

32 *it make.* Read *it makes*, with *D*+.

77. 6 (No. 76) *The iudgement of desire.* This poem is in *A* only. Another copy of it (*R*) occurs in MS. Rawlinson 85, fol. 14^{v}, whence it was reprinted by Grosart (who did not know of its appearance in *A*) in his *Miscellanies of the Fuller Worthies' Library*, IV (1872), 405 f., among the poems of the Earl of Oxford. *R* differs from the present text in the following particulars:

77. 6 *The title in R is* Desire.
7 did stretche] stretch^{t} forthe
13 *R omits the refrain throughout*
17 the youthfull] this gentle
19 sight] syghde: I am] it was
22 A] And
23 wight] knighte
25 in] of: askte] aske
28 me] thann
32 Nor greater ioye can be than this *R*
78. 2 Then] That: what] that
4 E. O.] Earle of Oxforde

Somewhat similar to No. 76 is the poem on "Fancy and Desire," by the Earl of Oxford, which was printed, among other places, in the *Bower of Delights* (1591, 1597), attributed to Nicholas Breton.

12 *the gilt of Thetis bedd.* Here, as in the Latin poets generally, *Thetis* is used merely as a synonym for the ocean. Cf. *The Phœnix Nest*, 1593 (Collier's reprint, p. 122), "Phœbus thought it time to make retire, From Thetis Bowre, wherein he spent the night"; and Butler's burlesque reference in *Hudibras*, II. ii. 29 ff.,

The sun had long since in the lap
Of Thetis taken out his nap,
And, like a lobster boil'd, the morn
From black to red began to turn.

77. 27 *Laradon, tan, tan.* Add *&c.* to this refrain.

28 *me.* The rhyme-scheme demands the reading *than* (= then), as in *R* (77.6 n.). Cf. the rhymes at 30.11 f., 74.7, 16, etc., 78.15 f, etc.

32 *No ioye.* For *no* read *ne* or *nor.*

78. 3 *tan, tan.* Read *tan, tan, &c.*

5–6 (No. 77) *The complaint of a louer, wearyng Blacke and Tawnie.* In every edition (sigs. I4–I4^{v} in *BC*, K^{v} in *D*, I2^{v} in *E*, I2 in *F–I*), and assigned in each to the Earl of Oxford. Bishop Percy, in his *Reliques*, 1765 (ed. Wheatley, II, 185), quotes the opening stanza of the poem, — in which he finds "the only lines . . . worth notice," — changing *weare* (line 7) to *beare.* With No. 77 compare Whetstone, "The forsaken lover sheweth to what intent he weareth tawnie," in *The Rock of Regard*, 1576 (Collier's reprint, p. 134), which ends,

Even I my selfe do weare this tawnie hue,
To shewe I serv'd a Cressid most untrue;

Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes*, 1586 (ed. Green, p. 134), "For mourners, *blacke*," "The man refus'd, in *Taunye* doth delite"; Matthew Grove, *Poems*, 1587 (ed. Grosart, 1878, p. 62), "the men forsake[n] in tawney chuse their weede"; Lodge, *Rosalynde*, 1590, Q4^{v} (*Works*, ed. Hunterian Club, I. v. 128), "As they were thus drinking and readie to goe to Church, came in MONTANUS apparailed all in tawney, to signifie that he was forsaken; on his head he wore a garland of willowe"; Robert Tofte, *Alba*, 1598 (ed. Grosart, 1880, p. 104),

TAVVNY and BLACK, my Courtly Colours be,
Tawny, (because forsooke I am) I weare:
Black, (since mine ALBAS Loue is dead to me,
Yet liueth in another) I do beare. . . .

Yet I in BLACK and TAVVNY Weedes will goe,
Because forsooke, and dead I am with woe;

and *The Queen, or the Excellency of her Sex*, 1653, act II (ed. W. Bang, 1906, pp. 13 f.), "Buy me a veil Ingrayn'd in tawny. Alas, I am forsaken."

7 *Croune of Bayes.* On bays, or laurel-leaves, cf. 61.18 n. Lines 7–10 are the refrain, or undersong. They are to be added also after 79.3.

16 *bis.* This direction to repeat *wo worthe* (it appears also in line 24 and at 79.3) shows clearly that the poem was written to be sung. Cf. 92.21, 27, etc. See a similar direction in *Misogonus*, 1577 (which Brandl, reprinting the play in his *Quellen des Weltlichen Dramas*, p. 447, fails to understand), "Here ostice, here ostice, I come quater," — i. e., "I come, I come, I come, I come."

29 *hid.* I. e., to hide.

30 *alantida.* Read *lalalantida*, with line 22 and with *B–H.*

79. 5 (No. 78) *He complaineth thus.* This poem is in *A* only. The three stanzas are very irregular in metre and length. The first four lines with their initial word *Lo* represent a tradition begun by the concluding stanzas of Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* (book v, stanzas 262, 265). Thus Thomas Howell, writing a poem on Cressida in his *Newe Sonets, and pretie Pamphlets*, 1568 (*Poems*, ed. Grosart, pp. 121 f.), ends it:

> Lo here the ende of wanton wicked life,
> Lo here the fruit that Sinne both sowes and reapes;
> Lo here of vice the right rewarde and knife. . . .

For further examples see Gascoigne's *Complete Poems*, ed. Hazlitt, I, 115; and Whetstone's *Rock of Regard*, 1576 (Collier's reprint, pp. 91, 330).

7 *that*[1]. Read *the*.

26–27 *happie is that woyng, That is not long a doyng.* Proverbial. Cf. Thomas Morley, *Madrigals to five voyces*, 1598, no. vii (ed. Wilhelm Bolle, *Palaestra*, XXIX [1903], 171), "Thrice happie, men do say, is that sweet wooing, Where love may still bee noted Swift in doing"; Porter, *The Two Angry Women of Abingdon*, 1599, I2[v] (*Tudor Facsimile Texts*), "Short woing is the best, an houre, not yeares, For long debating loue is full of feares"; Thomas Lorkin, in a letter dated 1619 (Birch, *The Court and Times of James I*, II, 146), "And surely, if it be true, 'Blessed is the wooing that is not long a doing,' we must give him for a happy man"; Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, 1621, III. §2. v. 5, "Blessed is the wooing, That is not long a doing"; Thomas Flatman (?), *Don Juan Lamberto*, 1661 (*The Somers Tracts*, ed. Scott, VII [1812], 116), "often hath my nurse spoken proverbially unto me, saying, happy is that wooing which is not long a doing." See Logan, *A Pedlar's Pack*, pp. 364 f.; *The Journal of American Folk-Lore*, XX, 273, XXVIII, 159; and the numerous earlier examples cited in the *Handful*, p. 87.

30 *Findyng.* This key-word should have been printed in italic type in *A*, for it points to an italic word.

80. 2 (No. 79) *Findyng no relief, &c.* In every edition (sigs. I4[v]–K in *BC*, K2 in *D*, I2[v]–I3 in *E*, I2–I2[v] in *F–I*); assigned to R. H. (R. Hill) in *A*, R. Hill in *CDE*, H. Hill in *F–I*, and R. Hall in *B*. The last two variations are obviously misprints for R. Hill, to whom undoubtedly the poem belongs. On the stanza-form see 17.2 n.

7 *I dreame of this, &c.* For *this* read *bliss*, with *HI*. I "divine of woe" (i. e., interpret my dream in a woful sense) because dreams go by contraries.

8 *my swete fo.* Cf. 82.3 n.

28 (No. 80) *Beyng in loue, &c.* In *A* only. This title is repeated for the poems at 82.19, 91.11, and 121.2. The stanza-form is an attempt at *ottava rima*.

31 *or whether height or lowe.* For *height* read *high*. The first *or* is, according to modern usage, pleonastic: What god, whether he be high or low.

81. 3 *But he, &c.* A pentameter, instead of the usual tetrameter, line.

5 *with her mates.* I. e., her sisters Tisiphone and Megæra, the Furies.

81. 7 *sitts . . . in hellishe gates.* Æneas, on his journey to Hades, saw the city of the lost with its gate of adamant which no god or man could break; and by the "hellish gate" he saw an iron tower on which Tisiphone, the Fury, kept watch.

8 *seeks still whom thei maie destroye.* Cf. 1 Peter v. 8, "Be sober, be vigilant; because your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour."

9 *tis destinie.* From the rhyme and stanzaic-scheme of the first and third stanzas, it is evident that an entire line has dropped out after these words.

13 *happ as yet holds hardly still.* Up to the present my fortune with difficulty holds fixed (i. e., good, propitious).

14 *For feare I set, &c.* For *feare* read *where:* For where I set my friendship so (i. e., still, firm) and think to reap good will in return, etc.

16 *striue against the winde.* Cf. 75.27 n.

23 (No. 81) *A louer disdained, complaineth.* In *A* and *B* (sig. K) only, and in both assigned to Lord Vaux.

25 *plaies within her maze.* Cf. 82.3.

82. 3 *my swete foe.* This is the ordinary characterization of one's sweetheart followed by all Elizabethan lyricists. So in the *Amoretti*, sonnets 11 and 57, Spenser writes, "She, cruell warriour, doth her selfe addresse To battell," "Sweet warriour, when shall I have peace with you?" The phrase (which is repeated at 80.8 and 83.29) becomes in Petrarch's sonnets *dolce mia guerriera*, in De Baif's *ma douce guerrière*, *ma douce rebelle*, in Desportes's *ma douce adversaire.*

6 *yet doe I twiste the twine.* I keep on twisting the twine, making the thread, that I have begun; i. e., I go on with my enterprise. Cf. Heywood's *Works*, 1562, p. 163, "She hath spun a fayre threede;" and Drayton's "To Prouerbe" (*Idea*, 1602, sonnet 58, *Minor Poems*, ed. Brett, p. 45), "*You haue spunne a faire thred, he replies in scorne.*"

13 *To their greate paines, &c.* Where fortune brings good luck (in love) as a reward for their great pain.

19 (No. 82) *Beyng in loue, &c.* In every edition (sigs. K–K^{v} in *BC*, K2^{v}–K3 in *D*, I3^{v}–I4 in *E*, I3–I3^{v} in *F–I*); assigned to M. B. (Master Bewe) in *A* only, to the Earl of Oxford in *B–I*. To Oxford the authorship must be credited. The title is also at 80.28, 91.11, and 121.2; but in *C+* it is for this poem changed to "Cœlum non solum." In *BC* it is printed awkwardly at the very foot of the page (cf. 69.17 n.). On the stanza-form see 17.2 n.

22 *Then should my sights, &c.* Then my sighs should subside and leave my breast in quiet. Cf. 47.30 n.

29–31 *These vertues rare, eche Godds did yelde amate, &c.* For *Gods* (in line 31) read *God*, with *B+*. Mr. Kittredge explains the passage: "To these rare virtues each god (goddess?) did yield as overcome, — save that goddess who still reigns on earth [the lady he is in love with], the cord of whose beauty (not even) the gods can break (or escape from)."

83. 3 *My haples happe, doeth role to restles stone.* For *to* read *the*, with *B*+. The line means that it is my misfortune (always) to roll the restless stone, i. e., never to attain success: perhaps an allusion to the old proverb which Heywood (*Works*, 1562, p. 26) states as "the rollyng stone neuer gatherth mosse," and which occurs also, among many other places, in *Piers Plowman*, A. x. 101 ("Selden moseth the marbelston that men ofte treden"); Tottel's *Miscellany*, 1557, pp. 90 f.; William Spelman, *A Dialoge or Confabulation between Two Travellers*, 1580 (ed. J. E. L. Pickering, p. 3, Roxburghe Club, 1896); Pettie, *The Civile Conversation of M. Steeven Guazzo*, 1581 (ed. Sullivan, II [1925], III); *The Passionate Morrice*, 1593 (ed. Furnivall, p. 87, New Shakspere Society, 1876); Marston, *The Fawn*, I. ii (*Works*, ed. Bullen, II, 122); J. Gruter, 1611, II, 185; the ballad of "Seldome comes the better," 1629 (*Roxburghe Ballads*, II, 512; Rollins, *Analytical Index*, No. 2397); Hazlitt's *English Proverbs*, p. 34; and Publilius Syrus, maxim 504 (C. Zell's edition, 1829, p. 17). But the allusion may be to Sisyphus rather than to the proverb. Lyly combines the two ideas in *Euphues and his England*, 1580 (*Works*, ed. Bond, II, 26), "There wil no Mosse sticke to the stone of Sisiphus."

6 *where none can iustly craue.* Where no one can with justice ask for (reward).

7 *chaunce is choise, &c.* Where one cannot (as in the present case) make a reasonable claim, it is a mere chance when one meets with favor (or is chosen).

9 *A happie starre made Giges ioye attaine.* Gyges, third king of Lydia (*ca.* 687–652 B. C.), dethroned and put to death his predecessor Candaules, who had caused his wife to appear naked before Gyges. He became famous for his wealth. See Herodotus, i. 7–13, 91; Painter, *The Palace of Pleasure*, I (1566), novel 6; and Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, 1621, III. §3. iv. 2. Lyly, in *Euphues*, 1579 (*Works*, ed. Bond, I, 210), inquires, "Did not *Giges* cut *Candaules* a coate by his owne measure?" In the *Republic* (ii. 3) Plato makes Gyges a shepherd who murdered his master and won the affection of his master's wife by means of a magic ring. This ring is often referred to by Elizabethan writers: e. g., by Lodowick Lloyd, in *Certain English Verses, Presented unto the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty*, 1586 (Huth's *Fugitive Tracts*, First Series), "to walke vnseene, with *Giges* ring faine they would"; and by Marston, in *The Fawn*, 1606, III. i, "And he had Gyges' ring I would find him." With *happie starre* compare *Paradise Lost*, viii. 511 ff., "all Heaven, And happy constellations, on that hour Shed their selectest influence."

10 *A slauishe Smith.* I. e., Vulcan, who won Venus as his wife; but, since he was the son of Jupiter and Juno, M. B. is bold to speak (line 11) of his "rude and rascall race."

19 (No. 83) *A louer reiected, complaineth.* In every edition (sigs. K^{v}–K2 in *BC*, K3–K3^{v} in *D*, I4–I4^{v} in *E*, I3^{v}–I4 in *F–I*), and assigned in each to the Earl of Oxford.

22 *that loue aye seeks.* *Love* is the object, not the subject, of *seeks*.

83. 23–24 *renew, in dole.* Apparently either *renew* should read *anew* or *in dole* should read *my dole.* But if *displaie* has the meaning of "display myself," "express my feelings," neither emendation is necessary.

27 *Resigne thy voyce.* As used here, in the sense of the Latin *resignare*, to unseal, *resigne* means "utter." The only example in the *N. E. D.* comes from Barnabe Barnes's *Divine Century of Spiritual Sonnets* (1595).

84. 3 *The haggerd hauke, &c.* One of Lord Oxford's lines (*Poems*, ed. Looney, p. 37) says of women, "Unsettled still like haggards wild they range." Mr. Looney thinks this important evidence towards proving (pp. lxxi f.) that "Shakespeare" (who, he says, refers to the haggard three times) was identical with Oxford. He has been unable to "find much about the haggard hawk" outside of "Shakespeare" and Oxford. This is, however, far from being "rara avis in terris," and is referred to by Richard Edwards at 27.22 and 71.3; other references are pointed out in the notes to 27.22, and they could be largely augmented. Of such a flimsy nature is Mr. Looney's "proof" by parallels (cf. pp. lix f., above) that Oxford was "Shakespeare."

4 *tower, the Canon laies on grounde.* Cf. 38.11 n.

16 *And kisse, &c.* Read *And shall I kisse, &c.*, for the sake of uniformity and of metre. Cf. Chaucer's address in *Troilus*, book v, stanza 256,

> Go, litel book . . .
> And kis the steppes, wher-as thou seest pace
> Virgile, Ovyde, Omer, Lucan, and Stace, —

itself an imitation of Statius's *Thebaid*, xii. 817, "et vestigia semper adora," — and the concluding poem to Spenser's *Shepherds' Calendar*, "But followe them farre off, and their high steppes adore."

21 *let her haue her moste desire with speede.* This sentence seems to contradict the other wishes in the stanza, unless *haue* means "feel," — "let her feel the utmost desire without fulfilment." Possibly *haue* is a misprint for some such word as *lose.*

25 After this line an old hand in *G* has added the couplet,

> I may not mislike t̄ w̄ Fortunes Fette
> Sith ȳ like hath hapte vnto my bette.

27 (No. 84) *Not attainyng to his desire, &c.* In every edition (sigs. K2–K2^{v} in *BC*, K3^{v}–K4 in *D*, I4^{v} in *E*, I4 in *F–I*), and assigned in each to the Earl of Oxford.

28 *I am not as* [*I*] *seme to bee.* The bracketed *I*, necessary for the sense, is in all editions except *ABE.*

31 *I moste in mirthe, moste pensiue sadd.* The reading *& moste in mirthe*, etc., seems necessary to complete the antithesis.

33 *As Haniball that sawe, &c.* Carthage was destroyed in 146 B.C., some thirty-seven years after Hannibal's death; but perhaps the poet did not intend his words to be taken literally.

85. 4–5 *Cæsar . . . Pompeyes princely hedd.* According to the usual story, Cæsar wept, saying, "Non mihi placet vindicta, sed victoria." Plutarch in his life of Pompey says that "when one of the Egyptians was sent to present him [Cæsar] with Pompey's head, he turned away from him with abhorrence as from a murderer; and on receiving his seal . . . he burst into tears." In his life of Cæsar Plutarch remarks that "when he [Cæsar] came to Alexandria, where Pompey was already murdered, he would not look upon Theodotus, who presented him with his head, but taking only his signet, shed tears." To this episode English poets delighted in referring. Thus Lydgate, in *The Fall of Princes*, book vi (ed. Bergen, III [1923], 741), wrote:

> The hed of Pompeye, brouht with his statli ring,
> Offrid up to Iulius hih presence,
> He be compassioun, the moordre aduertisyng,
> Of his innat imperial excellence
> Brast out to wepe, & in his aduertense
> Thouhte gret pite, a prince of so gret myht
> Sholde so be slayn, that was so good a knyht.

Cf. also the Earl of Surrey in Tottel's *Miscellany*, 1557, p. 28, "Yeld Ceasars teares vpon Pompeius hed"; Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes*, 1586 (ed. Green, p. 116), "his head to Cæsar being broughte, For inwarde griefe, hee wash'd the same with teares"; Gervase Markham, *The Most Honorable Tragedie of Sir Richard Grinuile*, 1595 (ed. Arber, p. 76), "Had *Pompey* in *Pharsalia* held his thought, *Cæsar* had neuer wept vpon his head"; and Francis Davison, *A Poetical Rhapsody*, 1602 (ed. Bullen, I, 90),

> When trait'rous Photine Cæsar did present
> With his great rival's honourable head,
> He taught his eyes a stream of tears to shed,
> Hiding in his false heart his true content.

The source of No. 84 is Petrarch's sonnet 102 (*Rime*, 1904, pp. 105 f.).

11 *Of wise.* By wise men.

16–17 *I smile to see me, &c.* See above, p. lx, n. 3.

19 *Presents, &c.* Read *present;* i. e., instead of a Pompey's head I present a heart killed by love.

23 *to profixe it.* The word should be *prefix*, meaning "ordain in advance"; *it*, referring to *choice*, is pleonastic.

27 *I in vaine doe breathe my winde.* For *winde* read *mind:* Vainly do I speak of my feelings, though (line 26) I observe that some do purge their pains by uttering complaints.

29 (No. 85) *His mynde, &c.* In *A*, *B* (sig. K2^{v}), and *C* (sig. K2^{v}) only, and in each assigned to the Earl of Oxford.

30 *Even as the waxe doeth melt, &c.* Whitney (*A Choice of Emblemes*, 1586, ed. Green, p. 183) imitates this line and the idea of the poem in his emblem beginning "Even as the waxe dothe feede, and quenche the flame."

85. 31 *so I behold, &c.* I. e., so I behold (my own) decay as a result of thoughts full of care.

86. 2 *I doe wast, &c.* I ruin myself by loving another who hates me.

3 *he that beats the bushe, &c.* Cf. Oxford's *Poems* (ed. Looney, p. 15), "For he that beats the bush the bird not gets, But who sits still and holdeth fast the nets"; "A Description of Love," 1629 (Arber's *English Garner*, VII [1883], 14), "'Twas I that beat the bush; The bird, to others flew"; and 10.27 n.

4 *sitteth still, and holds the foulyng netts.* Evidently proverbial. See the preceding note, and 18.31.

14 *with the carefull culuer, &c.* Cf. Spenser, *The Tears of the Muses*, 1591, lines 245 f., "All comfortlesse upon the bared bow, Like wofull culvers, doo sit wayling now"; and *Amoretti*, 1595, sonnet 88, "Lyke as the culver on the bared bough Sits mourning for the absence of her mate."

16 *neuer am lesse idle loe, then when I am alone.* Cf. Cicero, *De Officiis*, iii. 1, "Numquam se minus otiosum esse, quam cum otiosus, nec minus solum, quam cum solus esset"; Henry Parker, Baron Morley, before 1556, "Never was I lesse alone then beyng alone" (MS. Ashmole 48, No. 6, ed. Thomas Wright, Roxburghe Club, 1860); *Romeo and Juliet*, I. i. 133 f., "I, measuring his affections by my own, That most are busied when they're most alone"; Gibbon's *Memoirs* (*Miscellaneous Works*, I [1814], 117), "I was never less alone than when by myself"; Samuel Rogers, *Human Life*, 1819 (*Poems*, 1838, p. 94), "never less alone than when alone."

18 (No. 86) *Of the mightie power of Loue.* In *A* only.

19 *My meanyng is to worke.* My intention is to write of.

22 *Record . . . of Paris, &c.* I call to witness those who read about Priam's son, Paris [whose love for Helen caused the destruction of Troy].

24 *When he refused witt for loue.* I. e., when Paris refused Pallas's proffered gift of wisdom and, by giving the golden apple to Venus, accepted the gift of love.

26 *There be of his posteritie aliue.* There are (now some) of his descendants (i. e., lovers) alive.

27–28 *Whom I might, &c.* Whom (i. e., the "posteritie" of Paris, or lovers) I might well condemn, if I were to be a cruel judge who commits the crime that I censure in others.

30 *Beyng.* This key-word should have been printed in italic type in *A*, for it points to an italic word.

87. 2 (No. 87) *Beyng disdained, he complaineth.* In every edition (sigs. L^{v} in *BC*, L^{v}–L2 in *D*, K2–K2^{v} in *E*, K^{v}–K2 in *F–I*), and assigned in each to Lord Vaux. On the stanza-form see 17.2 n.

3 *frendlesse.* A better reading would be *friendly* or *fraudless*.

11 *thy.* Read *the*, with *B*+.

17–20 *On that I gape, &c.* To gape on is to be eager for; for *my* in line 19 read *me*. The passage means: I eagerly desire that the establishment of my

simple faith (its acceptance as genuine) may be the outcome of my complaint. If that fails to be established, let justice confute me (and pronounce me guilty). If, on the other hand, that places me among the guiltless, then do thou restore by judgment my good name.

87. 23 *hast.* A misprint, I think, for *hest* (request).

28 (No. 88) *Of the meane estate.* In every edition (sigs. L^{v}–L2 in *BC*, L2–L2^{v} in *D*, K2^{v} in *E*, K2 in *F–I*); assigned to Lord Vaux in A, to William Hunnis in *B–G*, anonymous in *HI*. Probably Hunnis was the author; in any case, the evidence of the late editions, *HI*, is worthless.

29 *The higher that the Ceder tree, &c.* A commonplace, repeated at 55.30, 99.4–5, and 120.16–17. Draxe (1616, p. 366) includes among his adages, "The higher that the tree is, the greater is his fall," "The higher that I clime, the greater is my fall," and others similar to these.

30 *gan blowe.* Evidently the reading should be *can blow.*

32 *heapes of ill . . . in suche estate.* Cf. the story of Damocles, No. 51.

88. 8 *stepps vnsure.* The reading in *C+* may be *sleeps unsure*, which would perhaps be preferable.

11 *might . . . might.* The reading probably should be *night . . . rest.*

17 (No. 89) *Of a contented mynde.* In every edition (sigs. L2–L2^{v} in *BC*, L2^{v} in *D*, K2^{v}–K3 in *E*, K2–K2^{v} in *F–I*), and assigned in each to Lord Vaux. It is reprinted in Ellis's *Specimens*, II (1801), 58 f., (1803), 88 f.

19 *The moste.* Read *He moste.*

26 *Companion none is like, vnto the mynde.* Cf. Sir Edward Dyer's lyric beginning "My mind to me a kingdom is"; William Byrd's *Psalmes*, 1588, song xiiii (words and music reprinted in volume XIV of E. H. Fellowes's *English Madrigal School*, 1920); *The Shirburn Ballads, 1585–1616*, ed. Andrew Clark, 1907, pp. 113–115; Additional MS. 15,225, fols. 43–43^{v}; MS. Egerton 2009, fols. 55^{v}–56.

30 *Our wealth leaues vs . . . our kinsmen at the graue.* Perhaps this line was written with the morality *Everyman* in mind.

89. 5 (No. 90) *Trie before you trust.* In every edition (sigs. L2^{v} in *BC*, L2^{v}–L3 in *D*, K3 in *E*, K2^{v} in *F–I*), and assigned in each to Lord Vaux. The title is proverbial (cf. 28.7 n.).

6–10 *To counsell my estate, &c.* Here *counsell* is used in the Latin sense of "take counsel for (the advantage of)." For *it set* in line 7 read *is set*, with *D+*. *Be* (line 9) is, I suppose, plural (= are), *acquaintance* being taken as a kind of collective plural, parenthetical to *forged frendes* (line 7); and the stanza would go better if lines 8 and 9 were transposed. The meaning seems to be: In order to plan for the good of my estate, — which has been abandoned to the spoil of false friends whose grossest fraud has the most misleading appearance (and all too dear is the acquaintance of such most treacherous people!), — and in order to establish the fidelity of true-dealing men, I have come to the following determination (have adopted the following principle or precept), "Whoso doth practise friendship," etc.

89. 10–11 *frende so, As though, &c.* Cf. Publilius Syrus, maxim 972 (C. Zell's edition, 1829, p. 33), "Ita amicum habeas, posse ut facile fieri hunc inimicum putes."

14 *eares . . . hide a serpents harte.* A curious figure.

19 *For gold that winnes, &c.* Cf. 48.14 n.; and Munday's *Banquet of Dainty Conceits*, 1588 (*Harleian Miscellany*, IX [1812], 223),

> A proverbe there is both auncient and true,
> 'While welth will hold out, thou shalt have freends store';
> But money once failing, they bid thee adiew,
> They scorne then to know thee as they did before.

21 *bende his eare.* So a ballad (*ca.* 1625) in my *Pepysian Garland*, p. 224, says, "Parents come bend your eares, listen what followed on."

25 (No. 91) *He renounceth, &c.* In every edition (sigs. L2^{v}–L3 in *BC*, L3–L3^{v} in *D*, K3–K3^{v} in *E*, K2^{v}–K3 in *F–I*), and assigned in each to Lord Vaux. On the stanza-form see 17.2 n.

31 *the gaine is lesser then the fruite.* Presumably the poet intends to say that the fruit of love is not all gain by any means, that there is more loss than gain in even a successful love-affair.

90. 10 *These wilie Watts.* Wily Wat (Walter) must have been a proverbial name for a sly fellow. Cf. such names as Tom Tell-truth, Jack Juggler, Piers Penniless, Kind Kit, Lazy Laurence, Cuthbert Cutter, Simple Simon.

12 *stoppeth.* Read *stoopeth*, with *B*+.

22 *hath me fedd.* Read *hath me led*, as the alliteration (observe also *fedd* in line 20) demands.

24 *at.* Read *as*, with *B*+.

27 (No. 92) *Beyng in sorrowe, &c.* In *A* only.

30 *Suspect that breede the thought, &c.* For *breede the* Mr. Kittredge suggests the reading *breedeth;* for *and thought* read *and thoughts*. The passage then means: Suspicion breeds thought (i. e., sad or melancholy thought), and (such) thoughts change to (i. e., become) sighs, and sighs have sought out, etc. The *that* seems to be superfluous.

91. 8 *Beleue not euery speache, &c.* Cf. the Fool's rhymes in *King Lear*, I. iv. 132, 135, "Speak less than thou knowest," "Learn more than thou trowest."

11 (No. 93) *Beyng in loue, he complaineth.* In every edition (sigs. L3^{v}–L4 in *BC*, L4–L4^{v} in *D*, K4–K4^{v} in *E*, K3^{v}–K4 in *F–I*), and assigned in each to R. L. The same title is used for poems at 80.28, 82.19, and 121.2.

13 *you would me write.* I. e., you wish me to write.

15 *A wretched tale, &c.* Cf. Chaucer's *Troilus*, i. 12–14:

> For wel sit it, the sothe for to seyne,
> A woful wight to han a drery fere,
> And, to a sorwful tale, a sory chere.

18–19 *what can be greater greif, &c.* For *That* read *Than*, and insert a strong stop after *& lacke*. The sense of the lines is: What can be a greater grief than to have and yet not to have? [In such a situation] that which pleases one most must be one's greatest cause of sorrow.

21 *That hast.* Read *Thou hast*, with *HI*.

28 *hope of dreade.* Read *hope or dreade*. Lines 28–29 mean: Whose joys spring from or depend upon hope of winning (on the one hand) or dread of losing (on the other); or, more literally, Whose joys do rise by hope to conquer so great a wealth or by dread to lose (the same). *And for example*, etc., may mean: And thus show themselves as an example, that is, as a strange case.

30 *golden flese, stoode Iason, &c.* For early ballads and books on Jason and Medea see the notes in the *Gorgeous Gallery*, p. 189. The story was, of course, familiar from its inclusion in Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women*.

31 *Medeas hope of helpe.* I. e., hope of Medea's help.

92. 7 *not like hym for to be.* Because Jason deserted Medea for Creusa.

8 *kyng Priamus.* The reading should be *King Priamus son* (Troilus). In an old hand in *B* this emendation is indicated by the word "sone" in the margin.

12 *her Lazares death I wishe.* Cf. 117.2 n.

13 *if I.* Read *if thou*, with *B*+.

15 (No. 94) *Beyng in trouble, &c.* In every edition (sigs. L4–L4^{v} in *BC*, L4^{v} in *D*, K4^{v} in *E*, K4 in *F–I*); assigned to T. M. (T. Marshall) in *A* only, to William Hunnis in *B–I*. The authorship undoubtedly belongs to Hunnis. Mrs. Stopes (*William Hunnis*, pp. 109 f.) believes that this poem was written as a result of Hunnis's imprisonment in the Tower, and that it does "not suggest a hard-won pardon, but a sudden deliverance, full and free; a watchful and faithful friend to bring him the good news, and garments fit to wear abroad." It is reprinted in Farr's *Select Poetry*, II, 313.

18 *from case.* Read *from cause*, with *B*+. The initial word, *In*, should perhaps be changed to *A*, so that *did call and crie* in line 19 may have a subject.

21 *Bis.* A direction for singing. Cf. 78.16 n.

23 *To totter tide.* Thus I stood trembling there, as if tied upon a totter [*oscillum*], in defence of my fidelity; that is, in a precarious condition as to whether my innocence would protect me.

93. 9 (No. 95) *Beyng troubled in mynde, &c.* In every edition (sigs. L4^{v}–M in *B–D*, K4^{v}–L in *E* [but *E* lacks sig. L], K4–K4^{v} in *F–I*), and assigned in *A–DFGHI* to Jasper Heywood. It is imitated by Thomas Howell (*H. His Deuises*, 1581, F4) in a poem beginning "The bitter smarte that straines my mated minde." No. 95 was borrowed from the *Paradise* by the *Gorgeous Gallery*, p. 72, where it is called "The paynfull plight of a Louer remayning in doubtfull hope of his Ladyes fauour." Variations between the texts, except those of spelling and punctuation, are:

93. 11 sweate] sweete
12 that] which
17 that] which
18 alwaie] alwayes
19 mated] matched
21 betwene] betwixt
24 the] their
26 paines] panges
27 hope] hap: no] none
29 I. H.] *Om.*

93. 12 *The carelesse count, that doeth the same embrace.* The careless carefulness (or the heedless heed) that doth encompass my heart.

18 *My luckles lot, doeth alwaie take in worthe.* On the idiom "to take in worth" see 26.15 n. Mr. Kittredge paraphrases lines 17–22 thus: "'My greedy will always insists on regarding my lot (which is really a luckless lot) as fortunate or hopeful; and at the same time (antithetically) my piteous plaint helps to express my despondent mind, which fears that my suit is vain.' Thus his *desire* insists on being confident of success, and his *discouraged mind* presages failure. Between the two he is tossed to and fro as between two waves of a raging sea."

28 *to blowe.* Read *do blow*, with *BCDF*+. Cf. 75.20 n.

30 (No. 96) *Looke or you leape.* In every edition (sigs. M in *BC*, M–M^{v} in *D*, K4^{v}–L in *F–I*, torn out of *E*), and assigned in *A–DFGHI* to Jasper Heywood. The title is proverbial. Of course *or* means "before." Cf. Heywood's *Works*, 1562, pp. 6, 129, "Thus by these lessons ye may learne good cheape, In weddyng and al thing, to looke or ye leape," "Looke er thou leape"; *A poore Knight his Pallace of priuate pleasures*, 1579, L2^{v}, "First looke, then leape," "Then looke I pray, before you leape"; Thomas Proctor, *The Triumph of Trueth, ca.* 1584 (Collier's reprint, 1866, p. 12), "Look ere thou leap haue care vpon, the danger of thy fall"; Samuel Rowlands, *A Whole Crew of Kind Gossips*, 1609, D, "Then I would flaunt it, I would cut it out, And wiser, ere I leapt would looke about"; J. Gruter, 1611, II, 180, "Looke ere yee leape"; Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, 1621, III. §2. v. 3 (cf. also II. §3. vii), "look before ye leap, as the proverb is"; "The Virgin's A, B, C," 1656 (*Roxburghe Ballads*, II, 652; Rollins, *Analytical Index*, No. 2817), "Looke ere you leape, the proverbe still doth say." See also 105.16, 128.10, and the examples given in the *Handful*, p. 104.

33 *Spende no more words, &c.* Compare the proverb (as given by Draxe, 1616, p. 409), "Few words are best"; and 88.27.

94. 13 *The lookers on finde surest grounde.* Hazlitt, *English Proverbs*, p. 390, cites this line as a proverb. Similar to it is Fletcher's statement (*Love's Pilgrimage*, III. ii), "They that look on See more than we that play." Cf. also Pettie, *The Civile Conversation of M. Steeven Guazzo*, 1581 (ed. Sullivan, I [1925], 118), "Another used likewyse to say, that this world was a stage, wee the players whiche present the Comedie, and the gods, the lookers on"; Draxe,

1616, p. 400, "The lookers on and the standers by, may see more oftentimes then they that fight"; Sir Arthur Pinero, *Mid-Channel*, 1909, act 1, "Good gracious, you're not going to remark that lookers-on see most of the game!"; and (as a grand climax) W. A. Garrett, *Doctor Ricardo*, 1925, p. 43, "I was also presented as a looker-on, and I reflected that in that capacity I would probably see most of the game."

15 *This doeth persuade in all here ment.* This seems to mean: These facts persuade in everything that I have meant to express in this poem.

17 *The prouerbe is not South and West.* The proverb referred to is given in line 19. Possibly the present line means that the proverb is not South and West alone, but all points of the compass, i. e., universally true and applicable, not merely half-true.

18 *be saied.* I. e., been said (as *DF*+ read).

19 *Of little medlyng cometh rest.* Proverbial. Cf. 15.12; *The Prouerbis of Wysdom*, *ca.* 1475 (ed. Zupitza, Herrig's *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, XC [1893], 247, 266 f.), "Lytyll medlyng makythe mych rest"; *A Newe Interlude of Impacyente Pouerte*, 1560 (ed. McKerrow, 1911, p. 6), "Take hede my frende thus sayth the texte In lyttle medlynge standeth great rest"; Porter, *The Two Angry Women of Abingdon*, 1599, G^{v} (*Tudor Facsimile Texts*), "in litle medling commeth great rest." See also Heywood's *Works*, 1562, p. 47; J. Gruter, 1611, II, 182; Draxe, 1616, p. 405; Ray's *Proverbs*, 1670, p. 120. The *N. E. D.* quotes Taverner, 1539 (*The Proverbes or Adagies . . . of Erasmus*, 1545, p. 57), "In litle medlinge lyeth greate ease," as the earliest example. Hazlitt, *English Proverbs*, p. 240, states the proverb as "In little meddling lieth much rest," and refers to its use in Skelton's *Works* (II [1856], 232, "With litell besynes standith moche rest") and in *The Countryman's New Commonwealth*, 1647. The proverb seems to be referred to in Chaucer's *Manciple's Tale* (H. 349 f.),

> The Fleming seith, and lerne it, if thee leste,
> That litel jangling causeth muchel reste,

as well as in his ballad of "Truth," line 10, "Gret reste stant in litel besinesse."

21 *in all worlds sent.* I suppose that *worlds* should be *words*, and that the line means: The best way is altogether expressed in words [which follow in line 22].

24 (No. 97) *He bewaileth his mishappe.* In *A* only. On the stanza-form see 17.2 n.

95. 3 *maie pitie winne.* The sense and metre demand the reading *may never pity win.*

13 (No. 98) *The complaint of a Synner.* In every edition (sigs. M2–M2^{v} in *BC*, M2^{v}–M3 in *D*, L2 in *F–I*, torn out of *E*). Assigned to Francis Kinwelmarsh in *A–D*; unsigned in *F–I*, but the title (see the Misprints and Variant Readings) in *DF–I* runs, "and sung by the Earl of Essex upon his death-bed in Ireland," — i. e., by Walter Devereux, first Earl of Essex. That nobleman, a

Knight of the Garter and Earl Marshal of Ireland, died in Ireland on September 22, 1576. Rumor went that he had been poisoned; and, though an investigation disclosed the falsity of the report, the story was repeated as true in the anonymous *Leicester's Commonwealth*, 1584 (see Burgoyne's reprint of the 1641 ed., 1904, pp. 37 ff.).

The editor of *Notes and Queries*, 4th series, III, 361 f., affirmed Essex's authorship of the poem, identifying it with the hymn which, according to his secretary, Edward Waterhouse (Camden's *Annals*, ed. Hearne, I [1717], p. xcvii), Essex sang on his death-bed. Waterhouse writes (I quote from the "Devereux Papers," ed. H. E. Malden, *Camden Miscellany*, XIII [1924], 9) that "the night before he died, he willed William Hayes his musicion, to playe on the virgynalls, and to sing. 'Playe,' said he, 'my songe, and I will singe yt my self.' And so he did most joyfullie; not as the howlinge Swan, still lokinge downe, wayleth her end, but as the swete lark, liftinge upp his hands and castinge his eyes upp unto his God." A version of No. 98 is then given.

Grosart accepts the statement of Waterhouse as definite proof of the Earl's authorship. He prints (*Miscellanies of the Fuller Worthies' Library*, IV, 451–453) a copy from Sloane MS. 1896, which has a new final stanza and the refrain,

> But wheras woordes & deeds agree,
> Accept them freends and credit me.

But, as both the stanza and the refrain are part of a ballad that is preserved in the early *Maitland Folio Manuscript* (ed. Scottish Text Society, pp. 287 f.), they cannot be of Essex's composition. That ballad occurs also in Additional MS. 15,225, fol. 38, whence it is reprinted in my *Old English Ballads*, pp. 223–225; in John Forbes's *Cantus, Songs and Fancies*, 2d ed., 1666, song vii, whence it is reprinted by W. Bolle in Herrig's *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, CXXXII, 40; and in the Maitland MS., whence it is reprinted in John Pinkerton's *Ancient Scotish Poems*, 1786, II, 212 f. (where it is entitled "On Fals Freyndschip").

So far as I can see, there is no reason at all why No. 98 should be regarded as the work of Essex. He died late in 1576, by which time the *Paradise*, with the poem attributed to Francis Kinwelmarsh, was already in print. To Kinwelmarsh the poem was assigned in all the editions down to and including 1585; and the evidence of later editions is not trustworthy. I agree with Collier and Malden that the authorship belongs to Kinwelmarsh. The earliest mention of Essex's death in the Stationers' Register was on July 1, 1577 (Rollins, *Analytical Index*, No. 740), when Gerard Dewes (or Dewce) secured a license for "thepitaphe of therle of Essex." It hardly seems probable that a song composed by Essex on his death-bed should have become common property and have been printed before his death had been celebrated in an elegy.

After the title in *G* an old hand has added, "To the Tune of Rogero." For that tune see William Chappell, *Popular Music of the Olden Time*, I, 93.

Other copies and reprints of No. 98 (in addition to those of Grosart and

Malden) will be found in MS. Cotton Vespasian A. xxv (ed. Boeddeker, *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Sprache*, N. F., II, 225 ff.); Additional MS. 5830, fol. 122; Additional MS. 15,117, fol. 4 (with music); Gough Norfolk MS. No. 43, Bodleian Library (reprinted by J. P. Collier in "Ancient Biographical Poems," *Camden Miscellany*, III [1855], 19 f.); Farr, *Select Poetry*, II, 316 f.; Additional MS. 28,635, fol. 20v. It is not worth while to collate these versions.

Possibly the ballad called "The complaint of a sinfull soule &c." that Yarrath James registered for publication on August 1, 1586 (Rollins, *Analytical Index*, No. 356), was a version of No. 98.

95. 16 *O powre thy precious oyle of grace, &c.* In the most remarkable of his borrowings, Melbancke (*Philotimus*, 1583, Q [cf. 16. 6–8 n.]) combines this passage with 20. 8–19, when Castibula laments thus: "O Mightie God, most great, most good, that wreakes thy wrath on them that breake thy vowes, forgiue my sinnes. O poure thy precious oyle into my wounded harte, and let the droppes of mercy swage the rigour of my smarte. Thy blessed will I haue despisd, thy lore forlorne, my crooked wil I haue disposed, thy statutes to repeale. But nowe my Lord, my loadstarre bright, my former deedes doe dule my hart, & sorrow doth her selfe submit, to take death for her dowrie: yet not that lasting death (O Lorde) O God preuent that preiudice, though merite say *Amen* to Hell, yet let thy mercie deigne mee heauen. The humble harte hath daunted the proude mind, eke wisdome hath giuen ignoraunce a fall, and triall hath taught ẏ follie could not finde, and penitence hath crueltie her subiacent thrall. Thou that didst graunt ẏ wise king his request, thou that in Sea thy people didst preserue, thou that forgauest the wounding of thy brest, thou that didst saue the Thiefe in state to sterue, wipe out of mind my faultes, and this newe moody facte, and since with faith I flie to thee, and hope by faith to attaine desire, let praiers appease thy righteous ire, and we enioy thy heauenly throne."

25 *life*. An old hand in *G* suggests the preferable reading, *feet*. Cf. Matthew vii. 13–14.

30 *plain*. A misprint for *plaint* (*BCDF*+).

96. 7 (No. 99) *The fruite, that sprynges, &c.* In every edition (sigs. M2v in *B*, M2v–M3 in *C*, M3 in *D*, L2–L2v in *F–I*, torn out of *E*), and assigned in *A–DFGHI* to Yloop.

16 *plẽties vse prickt forth my prime, &c.* Wealth ("the use of plenty") animated me in my youth to search, etc.

18 *speede*. A faulty rhyme.

22 *he that euill seede doeth sowe, &c.* Cf. Galatians vi. 7, "Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap."

25 *want is nexte to waste*. Proverbial. Cf. Hazlitt's *English Proverbs*, p. 466, "Waste makes want," "Waste not, want not."

27 *When neighbours next house burnes, &c.* Proverbial. J. Gruter (1611, II, 187) phrases the proverb, "When they [*sic*] neybowrs house doth burne, be careful of thine owne." Hazlitt (*English Proverbs*, p. 483) has, "When thy

neighbour's house doth burn, be careful of thine own," and he refers to the line from Horace (*Epistles*, i. 18. 84) quoted in Ray's *Proverbs* (1670, 1678, etc.), "Tua res agitur paries cum proximus ardet." Hazlitt also has (p. 480), "When the house is burnt down, you bring water." Cf. Draxe, 1616, p. 419, "When thy neighbours house is on fire, looke to thine owne"; and *Ovtlandish Proverbs, Selected by Mr. G. H.*, 1640 (*Facetiæ. Musarum Deliciæ, &c.*, n.d., II [1874], 511; also Ray, 1670, p. 106), "When my house burnes, it's not good playing at Chesse."

96. 28 *breds*. Read *breed* for the sake of rhyme (*BCDF*+).

30 *Who clims to high selde falleth soft*. A proverb which takes various forms. Closely related to the present phrasing are the following: James Cranstoun, *Satirical Poems of the Reformation*, I, 161 (Scottish Text Society, 1891), "Quha heichest clymmis the soner may thay slyde"; Tottel's *Miscellany*, 1557, p. 136, "We see what falles they haue, that clyme on trees vnknowne"; *Mirror for Magistrates*, 1587, ed. Haslewood, I (1815), 180, "Who climeth so highe his fall is not soft"; Edmond Elviden, *A Neweyeres gift to the Rebellious persons in the North partes of England*, 1570 (Huth's *Fugitive Tracts*, First Series), "And who that hyest sekes to clyme, Attaynes the greatest fall"; William Spelman, *A Dialoge or Confabulation between Two Travellers*, 1580 (ed. J. E. L. Pickering, p. 96, Roxburghe Club, 1896), "Remember the ould saynge (the higher thou clymeste, and thy foote slyppe, the greater is thy fall)"; Pettie, *The Civile Conversation of M. Steeven Guazzo*, 1581 (ed. Sullivan, I [1925], 101), "It may be well saide of such men, that which the Poet writeth,

> He falles most lowe, who seekes to climbe most high";

Lodge, *Scillaes Metamorphosis*, 1589, E (*Works*, ed. Hunterian Club, I. iv. 37), "High climing wits doo catch a sodein fall"; Camden's *Proverbs*, 1614, p. 333, "The highest tree hath the greatest fall." *Dedst ebbe hath highest flowe*, i. e., the deadest (lowest) ebb has the highest flow, is also more or less proverbial. In his *English Proverbs*, p. 387, Hazlitt quotes from Claudian (*In Rufinum*, i. 22 f.), "Tolluntur in altum ut lapsu graviore ruant," and adds, "The higher flood hath always the lower ebb." Cf. also Draxe, 1616, p. 366, "There is not so great a flood, but there is as low an ebbe."

99. 1 *The Paradise of daintie deuises*. For convenience, the headlines in the poems I reprint from *B–D* are continued unchanged from those of the second half of *A*. Such variations in spelling and typography as occur in the original editions are sufficiently indicated in the descriptions in the Introduction.

2 (No. 100) *Who wayteth on this wauering world, &c.* In *B–I* (sigs. A3v–A4 in *B–E*, A3–A3v in *F–I*), and assigned in each to Jasper Heywood.

4–5 *Amid the vale, &c.* A commonplace. Cf. 87.29 n.

9 *Oxe*. Read *Oke* (Oak), with *D*+.

18 *thy, thee*. Referring to the reader of the poem.

99. 20 *restlesse tipe of roulling wheele, &c.* I. e., under too heavy a load the rim slips off the wheel.

28–29 *Who so thou be, &c.* Added from *C;* also in *D*+.

29 *Ioue his.* I. e., Jove's.

30 *Icarus.* A ballad on the exploits of Dædalus and Icarus—beginning "In Crete when Dædalus first began his state and long exile to wail"—had been published before 1568; for in that year Thomas Howell, in his *Newe Sonets, and pretie Pamphlets*, F4 (*Poems*, ed. Grosart, p. 151), imitated it with a ballad-poem called "The Louer deceaued, writes to his Ladie. To the tune of in Creet when dedalus." Only two stanzas of the ballad remain; they are reprinted (from Harleian MS. 7578, fol. 103) in my *Old English Ballads*, pp. 329 f. Various references to the ballad are enumerated there, but to them should be added the quotation made by Luxurioso in *The Return from Parnassus, ca.*1598, 1. i.

31 *Itarion.* Read *Icarian* (really a seaport of the Ægean Sea).

33 *nor ben.* I. e., nor (had he) been.

100. 3 *or place, &c.* Read *are placed*, with *C*+; for *to guide* read *do guide.*

7–8 *And in that Tombe, &c.* Added from *C;* also in *D*+.

12 (No. 101) *He perswadeth his freend, &c.* The first three stanzas of this poem appear in *A* as No. 23 (p. 26). The present version of five stanzas occurs in *B–I* (sigs. D^v in *BC*, $D2^v$ in *D*, D^v–D2 in *E*, D–D^v in *F–I*), and is signed in each by Thomas Churchyard.

19 *prayes.* Read *prey* (cf. 27.4 n.).

20–21 *noyse, disprayse.* On this rhyme cf. 27.6–8 n.

25 *little sparkes.* Cf. 27.16 n.

101. 2 (No. 102) *A replie to M. Edwards May.* In *B–I* (sigs. D3 in *BCE*, D4–$D4^v$ in *D*, $D2^v$ in *F–I*), and assigned in each to M. S. (Master Sand?). This is a reply to No. 6 (p. 9).

17 *mettest.* Read *meetest*, with *C*+.

19 *Who may and will not take.* Proverbial. Cf. Hazlitt's *English Proverbs*, p. 199, "He that will not when he may, when he would, he shall have nay"; Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, iv. 1498 ff.,

> Bot what Maiden hire esposaile
> Wol tarie, whan sche take mai,
> Sche schal per chance an other dai
> Be let, whan that hire lievest were;

Preston, *Cambyses, ca.* 1570 (Dodsley-Hazlitt, *Old Plays*, iv, 187), "If ye will not now, when ye would, ye shall have nay"; Hugh Rhodes, *The Boke of Nurture*, 1577 (ed. Furnivall, 1868, p. 107, E.E.T.S.),

> He that may and will not,
> He then that would shall not,
> He that would and cannot,
> May repent and sighe not;

Greene, *Alphonsus* (*Plays*, ed. Collins, I, 130), "he that will not when he may, When he desires, shall surely purchase nay"; J. Gruter, 1611, II, 178, "He that wil not when he may, when he would he shal haue nay"; Camden's *Proverbs*, 1614, p. 336, "Who that may not as they would, will as they may"; Clark, *The Shirburn Ballads, 1585–1616*, p. 225,

> The proverbe oulde on me is verifyed,
> the same yow know full well,
> For she that maye, and often will say nay,
> (thus reason hath concluded)
> Shall be denayde (as proof the same shall shew)
> because she once refused;

Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, 1621, III. §2. v. 5, "He that will not when he may, When he will he shall have nay"; "The Baffled Knight" (Percy's *Reliques*, ed. Wheatley, II, 338), "He that wold not when he might, He shall not when he wold-a"; A. Murphy, *The Upholsterer* (*Works*, II [1786], 131), "She that will not when she may, When she will, she shall have nay."

101. 26 *And May.* The reading of *HI*, *And pray*, is preferable.

28 (No. 103) *An Epitaph vpon the death of Syr Edward Saunders, &c.* In *B–I* (sigs. $D4^{v}$–E^{v} in *BC*, E^{v}–*E*3 in *D*, D4–E^{v} in *E*, $D3^{v}$–E in *F–I*), and in each assigned to Lodowick Lloyd. According to the *D. N. B.*, Saunders died on November 12, 1576; Lloyd's poem was therefore written too late to be included in *A*. It was registered for publication by Henry Disle, the printer of the *Paradise*, on December 3, 1576 (Rollins, *Analytical Index*, No. 765), as "an epitaphe vppon the deathe of Syr Edward Saunders knight late Chief baron of Thexchequer," and a copy (*Y*) of that broadside issue — the first edition of the poem — is reprinted in Collmann's *Ballads*, pp. 174–176. It has the colophon, "Imprinted at London by H. S. for Henry Disle, dwellyng at the Southwest doore of Saint Paules Church, and are there to be solde. December 3"; and in its title the date of Saunders's death is given as November 19. From a copy of the broadside (*Y*) the *Paradise* poem was evidently set up by the printer. In *Y* the following variants appear:

101. 28 of] of the honorable,
29 Exchequer.] Exchequer, who dyed the .19. of Nouember. 1576.
102. 2 you[1,2]] your
5 vermine] vermines
13 sods] flooddes
15 for[2]] our
21 Vertues[1,2]] vertuous
30 ferce] erce
104. 28 triump] triumph
105. 2 ascended] descended
6 Finis] *Om.*

101. 31 *Parcas dome.* I. e., the judgment, or decree, of the Parcæ, or Fates.

102. 2 *you . . . you.* Read *your* in both cases, with *Y* above and *C*+.

102. 6 *Impes of Ioue . . . in Libethres noursht.* I. e., the children of Jove, the Muses, who are called by Virgil (*Eclogues*, vii. 21) "nymphæ Libethrides" from the fountain Libethra, one of their haunts. The plural form *Libethres* may be from the Greek plural τὰ Λείβηθρα, which was used for the whole region about the fountain. Cf. W. A., "To the friendly Reader," *A Speciall Remedie against the furious force of lawlesse Loue*, 1579, A3, "I was neuer acquainted with the Muses . . . nor tasted the pleasaunt liquor of the well of *Libethres*"; and John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester (*Collected Works*, ed. John Hayward, 1926, p. 110), "Ye sacred Nymphs of *Lebethra* be by."

13 *sods.* The reading of *Y* (above, 101.28 n.) and *D*+, *floods*, seems preferable, though alliteration lends countenance to *sods* (suds).

19 *Cuma . . . sage Sibilla.* Cf. E. C., *Emaricdulfe*, 1595, sonnet 39, "Sibill more wise then Cumas Sibill was."

28 *What helplesse is, must carelesse be.* Cf. Hazlitt's *English Proverbs*, p. 470, "What cannot be cured must be endured"; Adenès le Roi, *Li Roumans de Cléomadès* (ed. André van Hasselt, 1866), lines 13847 f., 14903 f., "Car sens est de laissier ester Ce que on ne puet amender," "Mais ce qu'il n'el pot amender Couvint qu'il le laissast ester"; Jean de Condé, *Li Lays dou Blanc Chevalier* (*Dits et Contes*, ed. Scheler, 1866, II, 39), "La besongne que on ne puet Amender, l'endurer l'estuet"; *Alpharts tod Dietrichs Flucht Rabenschlacht* (ed. Ernst Martin), lines 7629 f. (*Deutsches Heldenbuch*, II [1866], 175), "swes niht rât sîn kan, daz sol man lâzen vür sich gân"; Ned Ward, *The London-Spy*, 1703, p. 270, "What Can't be Cur'd, must be Indur'd."

30–33 *Where is, &c.* Cf. the *ubi sunt* theme discussed in the notes on 5.1.

103. 2–3 *So long there Fortune fast did floe, &c.* So long, in the cases just mentioned (there), Fortune was in the flood, and Fortune bade Fame sound the trumpet. Fortune was propitious up to the moment when she frowned and wrought destruction by fate, of which (fate) Fortune was herself the deviser.

6 *fauoured Saunders lure.* I. e., Fortune came to his lure (as does a falcon) when he called, favoring him.

10 *Who welnigh, &c.* This line and the next are quoted by Mr. H. H. Child, in his chapter on "The New English Poetry" in the *Cambridge History of English Literature* (III, ch. viii, p. 189), as a particularly bad illustration of Lloyd's style.

27 *Saba sage.* The poet uses *Saba* for the Queen of Sheba, who was reputed to be wise.

28 *Susan, Sara, Hesters mace.* According to the apocryphal book of Daniel, Susanna, the wife of Joachim, falsely accused of adultery by the two Elders, was saved from execution and vindicated by Daniel. On Sara, the wife of Abraham, see Genesis, chapters xvi–xvii. On "Hester" see the book of Esther, especially ii. 17, v. 2, viii. 4.

29 *Iudiths sword.* Referring to Judith, heroine of the apocryphal book of that name, who slew the Assyrian general, Holofernes.

104. 7 *Gordius knot.* The well-known story of the cutting of the knot of Gordius the Phrygian is told in Plutarch's life of Alexander.

12 *O peerlesse pearle, &c.* At the end of *H*, in the Huntington copy formerly owned by Steevens, some loyal Elizabethan wrote, in a devastating hand, the following apostrophe, which is based on line 12:

> O pearles pearle, O diamond deare
> O queene of queenes live longe
> Thy royell maiestie Jove preserve,
> Lett this be Englandes songe.

As the aged Queen had already ruled about forty-two years, this pious wish has considerable interest.

21 *your Queene.* In *I*, printed in 1606, this is changed to *your King* in deference to James I, — a change that hardly agrees with 1576, the date of Saunders's death, or with *Queene* and *Queenes* in lines 11, 12, 14.

22 *rise.* Read *riseth* (cf. *floweth* in the same line).

24–25 *The sunne to darknes shalbe turnd, &c.* See Joel ii. 31.

30 *Earth, water, ayre, and fire.* The four elements.

33 *earth, to earth shall goe.* A reference to the burial service in the Book of Common Prayer.

105. 7 (No. 104) *Of a Freend and a Flatterer.* In *B–I* (sigs. $E4^v$ in *BC*, F^v in *D*, E4 in *E*, $E3^v$ in *F–I*), and in each assigned to Richard Edwards.

8 *Trustie.* Read *faithful* (cf. lines 9–10), with *F*+.

14 *fauning foe.* One might expect *fawning friend;* but perhaps a fawning foe (cf. 7.17) was one who pretended to be a friend.

15 *til.* Read *while*, with *C*+.

16 *Looke first, then leape.* Proverbial. Cf. 93.30 n.

17 *Burnt Child . . . dread the fire.* Proverbial. Cf. Chaucer, *The Canon's Yeoman's Tale* (G. 1407 f.), "they that han been brent, Allas! can they nat flee the fyres hete?"; Hoccleve, *The Regement of Princes*, 1412 (*Works*, ed. Furnivall, III, 86, E. E. T. S.), "He that is brent, men seyn, dredith the fire"; Queen Mary I, in a letter to M. Douglas, 1553 (Mrs. Stopes, *William Hunnis*, p. 41), "burnt Bairne fire dreads"; Wilson, prologue to *The Arte of Rhetorique*, 1560 (ed. Mair), "A burnt child feareth the fire"; Phineas Fletcher, *Sicelides*, 1615, III. iv, "the burnt child dreads the water"; Draxe, 1616, pp. 379, 419 (also 421), "The burnt childe feareth the fire." See further Ida von Düringsfeld, *Sprichwörter*, I, §531; Hazlitt's *English Proverbs*, p. 373; and the numerous examples cited in the *Gorgeous Gallery*, p. 180.

19 *Short horse . . . soone curried is.* Proverbial. Cf. the fifteenth-century Sloane MS. 747 (edited in *Anglia*, XLII [1918], 204 and *note*), "Short horse ys sone coryed"; Heywood, *Works*, 1562, p. 134, "A shorte hors is soone coride"; Edwards, *Damon and Pithias*, *ca.*1565, C2 (*Tudor Facsimile Texts*), "A shorte horse soone curried"; Fletcher, *Valentinian*, *ca.*1614, II. i, "Your short horse is soon curried"; J. Gruter, 1611, II, 173; Camden's *Pro-*

verbs, 1614, p. 318; Draxe, 1616, p. 397; Hazlitt's *English Proverbs*, pp. 36, 349.

105. 21 (No. 105) *If thou desire . . . quiet rest.* In *B–I* (sigs. G3 in *BC*, G4 [misprinted C4] in *D*, G2 in *E*, G^{v} in *F–I*), and in each assigned to William Hunnis. The word *quiet* should be omitted (as the old owner of *B* indicated by scratching it out), since it does not appear in line 26. In *A Discourse of English Poetrie*, 1586 (Gregory Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, I, 277), William Webbe comments as follows:

> A like inuention . . . haue I seene often practised in framing a whole dittie to the Letters of ones name, or to the wordes of some two or three verses, which is very witty: as for example, this is one of *W. Hunnis*, which for the shortnes I rather chusde then some that are better.
>
> If thou desire to liue in quiet rest,
> Gyue eare and see, but say the best.
>
> These two verses are nowe, as it were, resolued into dyuers other, euery two wordes or sillables being the beginning of an other like verse, in this sort.

He then quotes the entire poem, which is exactly like the *Paradise* version except that *others* (line 26) appears as *other* and *do* (line 28) as *thy*. Constructed on a similar scheme is a poem in Humfrey Gifford's *Posie of Gilloflowers*, 1580, I3^{v}; and many such poems are added to Robert Chester's *Loves Martyr*, 1601, T3–Y4 (New Shakspere Society, 1878, pp. 141–167), under the title of "Cantoes Verbally written." Cf. also No. 5 (p. 9).

106. 2 (No. 106) *A dialog, &c.* In *B–I* (sigs. H3 in *BC*, H3^{v}–H4 in *D*, H^{v} in *E*, H in *F–I*), and assigned in each to William Hunnis. The poem belongs to the class of *débats* so popular in mediæval literature. See especially H. R. Lang, "The Eyes as Generators of Love," *Modern Language Notes*, XXIII (1908), 126 f.; J. H. Hanford, "The Debate of Heart and Eye," *ibid.*, XXVI (1911), 161–165; and the *Gorgeous Gallery*, p. 194. For general works on the *débat* see J. E. Wells, *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050–1400* (1916), p. 831. What was evidently a poem similar to No. 106 — "a proper newe ballad wherein is declared whether the grief we take by the eare or that we receaue by the eye is more greater" — was registered for publication by Thomas East on June 26, 1578 (Rollins, *Analytical Index*, No. 2930).

16 *mights.* Read *mightst*, with *C+*.

20 *Cupids shafte of golde.* Cf. Tottel's *Miscellany*, 1557, p. 265:

> This Cupide hath a shaft of kinde,
> Which wounded many a wight:
> Whose golden hed had power to binde,
> Ech hart in Venus bandes.

But, as the same poem (p. 266) tells us,

> An other shaft was wrought in spite,
> Which headed was with lead:
> Whose nature quenched swete delight,
> That louers most embrace.

A stage-direction in Preston's *Cambyses*, *ca.*1570 (Dodsley-Hazlitt, *Old Plays*, IV, 224), is, "Enter . . . *Cupid* blind: he must have a bow and two shafts, one headed with gold and the other headed with lead." See also *A poore Knight his Pallace of priuate pleasures*, 1579, D^{v},

> The quiuers which thou doost behold, which stand this God in stead,
> The one is full of golden shaftes, the other full of lead.
> The golden strike, the feruent wights, which pas their daies in loue,
> The leade doth wound the brasen harts, whō no complaint can moue;

Spenser's *Colin Clout*, 1595, line 807; and the notes in my *Gorgeous Gallery*, p. 157.

107. 2 (No. 107) *No paines comparable, &c.* In *B–I* (sigs. I2 in *BC*, I3 in *D*, H4^{v} in *E*, H4 in *FHI*, torn out of *G*), and assigned in *A–FHI* to William Hunnis. The words, as well as the music (by Thomas Tallis), of No. 107 are reprinted in Sir John Hawkins's *General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, v (1776), 450–452. Cf. 71.31n.

12 (No. 108) *He repenteth his follie.* In *B–I* (sigs. I2–I2^{v} in *BC*, I3–I3^{v} in *D*, H4^{v} in *E*, H4 in *FHI*, torn out of *G*), and assigned in *A–FHI* to William Hunnis, in whose *Seven Sobs of a Sorrowful Soul for Sin*, 1583, it was reprinted. It is also reprinted in Farr's *Select Poetry*, I, 153 f. Opposite the title in *B* is written in an old hand, "Vide cantum 18" (i. e., No. 17 in this reprint). Cf. 19.27 n. The same title occurs at 65.23.

21 *In youth what I thought sweete.* Evidently a reminiscence of Lord Vaux's famous poem (Tottel's *Miscellany*, 1557, p. 173) beginning "I Lothe that I did loue, In youth that I thought swete."

23 *as the Egle casts her bill.* Cf. Psalms ciii. 5, "so that thy youth is renewed like the eagle's." On the eagle's repairing its bill and renewing its youth see the Middle English *Bestiary* (Richard Morris, *An Old English Miscellany*, p. 3, E. E. T. S., 1872), and compare William Smith, *Chloris*, 1596, sonnet 19 (Arber, *An English Garner*, VIII [1896], 184), "The sky-bred Eagle fresh age doth obtain When he, his beak decayèd doth renew."

26 (No. 109) *The fruite of feined frendes.* In *B–I* (sigs. I2^{v}–I3 in *BC*, I4 in *D*, I in *E*, H4^{v} in *FHI*, torn out of *G*). The first thirteen lines of this poem appear also in *A* over the initials of William Hunnis, and are reprinted above as No. 72 (p. 73); the last two lines, signed by Edwards, appear only in *B*+.

108. 11 (No. 110) *Verses written of 20. good precepts, &c.* In *B* only (sigs. K3–K4^{v}). Most of these precepts (cf. also the notes on 15.6–21 and 127.2) come either from Dionysius Cato's distichs or from the brief sentences that precede them. Many of them are repeated also in Richard Barnfield's *Affectionate Shepherd*, 1594 ("The Second Day's Lamentation," stanzas liv–lxviii).

12 *Robart Cudden.* An entry in Joseph Foster's *Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn, 1521–1889*, p. 47, shows that Robert Cuddon (*sic*) was admitted to Gray's in 1574/5. For Cudden Whetstone also wrote a poem, "A briefe discourse of the discommodities of quarelling, written at the request of his

especiall friend and kinseman, Maister Robert Cudden of Grayes In," which appears in *The Rock of Regard*, 1576 (Collier's reprint, p. 222).

17 *Are rather forst of cause, &c.* My words come not naturally or spontaneously, but from the fact that I have occasion to write (since you have asked me to do so).

18 *Your theames are short.* "Themes" are perhaps most familiar from the numerous accounts, preserved in *Tarlton's Jests*, of how Dick Tarlton, the famous Elizabethan comedian, orally improvised upon the topics that were shouted to him by his audience. For a ballad which Tarlton was credited with writing upon a "theme," see my *Analytical Index*, No. 2501.

20 *Sarue God.* Cf. Cato's precept cited at 15.6 n.

24 *vsing course.* Following the logical course of action.

26 *Obey thy Prince, or Tyborne coole thy pride.* Cf. Cato's precept, "Magistrum metue." Criminals were usually hanged at Tyburn, a spot near the present Marble Arch, Hyde Park.

109. 2 *Like well thy frende, &c.* Cf. Cato's precept, "Amorem libenter ferto," and his *Disticha*, i. 11, "Dilige sic alios, ut sis tibi charus amicus."

3 *frends . . . to Æsopes tongues compare.* I. e., friends are both the best and the worst things in the world. La Fontaine, in the life of Æsop — taken, of course, from an old biography — which he prefixed to his own *Fables*, relates (see Thornbury's translation [1868?], pp. xxxix–xl) how Xanthus ordered Æsop, his slave, to buy the best of everything for a feast, "and nothing else." What was his dismay, therefore, to find nothing served at table but tongues! When reproved, Æsop replied: "What is better than the tongue? It is the very bond of civilised life, the key of all the sciences, the organ of reason and truth." "Purchase then for me to-morrow the worst of everything," commanded Xanthus; "the same gentlemen who are now present will dine with me, and I should like to give them some rarity." But again only tongues were served, Æsop explaining that "the tongue is the worst thing which there is in the world; for it is the author of wars, the source of law-suits, and the mother of every species of dissension." Lodge has a reference to this fable in his novel, *Euphues Shadow*, 1592, H2 (*Works*, ed. Hunterian Club, II. iii. 59), "courting me onelye with Æsops dish, wherein were more meates of subtiltye then to satisfie"; and one Thomas Preston also refers to it in a ballad (Clark, *The Shirburn Ballads, 1585–1616*, p. 348), "some tounges to swift, and some to slowe, both good and bad, *Esopp* doth showe." Cf. also Whitney's emblem on "Silentium" (*A Choice of Emblemes*, 1586, ed. Green, pp. 60 f.), in which he insists that "The tounge, althowghe it bee a member small, Of man it is the best, or worste of all." Pettie, translating *The Civile Conversation of M. Steeven Guazzo*, 1581 (ed. Sullivan, I [1925], 122), remarks: "I have read that a king of Egypt, to proove the judgement of Solon, sent him a beast to sacrifice, injoyning him to choose out that part of the beast which he judged best, and that which hee judged worst, to sende backe unto him. Solon to accomplish the kings hestes, sent him only the tongue."

109. 6 *Shun many words, &c.* Cf. Cato's *Disticha*, i. 3, "Virtutem primam esse puta compescere linguam; Proximus ille Deo, qui scit ratione tacere."

9 *And beast aplyde, &c.* And the best application (of the saying *Shun many words*) is, 'Fair words seldom stand the test.'

10 *Auoyde anger.* Cf. Cato's *Disticha*, ii. 4, "Iratus de re incerta contendere noli; Impedit ira animum ne possit cernere verum."

18 *Be merciful haue Diues scourge, &c.* Cf. Cato's *Disticha*, i. 5, "Si vitam inspicias hominum, si denique mores; Cum culpent alios, nemo sine crimine vivit."

22 *Slaunder no man, mirth is a leach to mone.* Cf. Cato's precept, "Maledicus ne esto"; and Proverbs xvii. 22, "A merry heart doeth good like a medicine."

26 *Report the Truth, once there one tryal standes.* Tell the truth! When once firmly established there, one can stand trial. Cf. Cato's precept, "Nihil mentiri debes."

27 *good Susannas foes.* For ballads on Susanna and the Elders see my *Analytical Index*, No. 379; cf. also 103.28 n.

30 *Take heede of drinke.* Cf. Cato's precept, "Vino te tempera."

110. 2 *Disdayne no man.* Cf. Cato's precept, "Minorem te non contemperis."

3 *All is not fyre . . . that seemes to blaze.* Presumably a proverb.

4 *Once.* Read *Ones* (= one's)?

6 *Thy secreates keepe, &c.* Cf. Cato's precept, "Pauca in convivio loquere"; and his *Disticha*, i. 3 (cf. 109. 6 n.), and iii. 18 ("Inter convivas fac sis sermone modestus").

10 *Try are thou trust.* Cf. 15.8 n., 28.7 n.

11 *The Crocadill.* Cf. 73.20 n.

18 *Ayde honest mindes.* Cf. Cato's precept, "Bonis benefacito."

22 *Shun wanton Dames.* Cf. Cato's precept, "Meretricem fuge."

25 *sweete delites . . . sower repentance.* Cf. 70. 11 n.

26 *Sucker souldiers.* Whetstone himself was a soldier of considerable active experience; hence this advice.

111. 6 *Thinke on thy end. the tyde for none doth waight.* For the first proverb cf. 25.17 n. and 51.19 n. For the second see Hazlitt's *English Proverbs*, p. 400, "The tide tarrieth no man"; *Everyman* (Dodsley-Hazlitt, *Old Plays*, i, 105), "For, wit thou well, the tide abideth no man"; *Piers of Fullham* (Hazlitt, *Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England*, ii [1866], 13), "The tide of love abidith no man"; Udall, *Ralph Roister Doister*, *ca.* 1554, i. ii (ed. Cooper, p. 4, Shakespeare Society, 1847), "And the tide, they say, tarieth for no man"; George Wapull's play, *The Tyde taryeth no Man*, 1576; Gabriel Harvey, letter to Spenser, 1579 (*Works*, ed. Grosart, i, 20), "The Tyde tarryeth no manne, but manye a good manne is fayne to tarry the Tyde"; the *Handful*, 1584, line 332, "The tide will not tarrie"; Burns, *Tam o'Shanter*, "Nae man can tether time nor tide"; and 15.22 n.

111. 10 *Formæ nulla fides.* An adaptation from Juvenal, ii. 8, "fronti nulla fides." Whetstone appears to have used this phrase as a signature; for it is printed at the foot of each of the four title-pages in *The Rock of Regard*, as well as at the end of the epilogue on p. 91 and of a poem on p. 218 (Collier's reprint). Furthermore, it is the signature used by him at the conclusion of commendatory verses which he prefixed to Timothy Kendall's *Flowers of Epigrammes* (1577). Cf. 32. 3 n.

11 (No. 111) *That Loue is requited by disdaine.* In *B–I* (sigs. L in *B*, K4^{v}–L in *C*, L–L^{v} in *D*, K^{v}–K2 in *E*, K–K^{v} in *F–I*), and assigned in each to William Hunnis.

17 *terrour . . . from heauen.* Of course, the thunderbolts of Jove.

27 *vessall.* I. e., vassal (*C*+).

29 (No. 112) *Of a contented state.* In *B–I* (sigs. L in *BC*, L^{v} in *D*, K2 in *E*, K^{v} in *F–I*), and assigned in each to William Hunnis.

112. 3–5 *postes.* The reading in *C*+ is *possess.* Lines 2–5 were evidently mixed up in the printing; for the logical sequence of thought, as well as the obvious rhyming-scheme, shows that they should stand in the following order:

> These welthy men do seme to want, thei seme to want $\overset{t}{y}$ most thei haue
> That most thei haue thei thinke but skant, the more possess $\overset{e}{y}$ more thei craue,
> The more thei craue $\overset{e}{y}$ greater store,
> Yet not content, wo be therefore.

Compare the lines in *A Poetical Rhapsody*, 1602 (ed. Bullen, II, 35),

> The more I have,
> The more I crave;
> The more I crave, the more desire.

11 (No. 113) *Bethinking hym self of his ende, &c.* In *B–I* (sigs. L3–L3^{v} in *BC*, L3^{v}–L4 in *D*, K3^{v}–K4 in *E*, K3–K3^{v} in *F–I*), and assigned in each to Lord Vaux. Reprinted in Farr's *Select Poetry*, II, 303 f.

115. 1 *The Paradise of daintie deuises.* For the form of the headline see 99.1 n.

2 (No. 114) *Written vpon the death of . . . Iohn Barnabie.* In *C–I* (sigs. K in *C*, K2–K2^{v} in *D*, I3–I3^{v} in *E*, I2^{v}–I3 in *F–I*), and assigned in each to H. D. (probably Henry Disle, the printer).

16 *I force nor friend nor faith.* I. e., I care neither for friend nor faith. Cf. Churchyard, 1552 (Collmann's *Ballads*, p. 68), "I force not what ye brue"; John Awdeley, 1569 (*ibid.*, p. 3), "I [Death] force not for their hye estate"; Humfrey Gifford, *A Posie of Gilloflowers*, 1580, M4, R3^{v} (*Complete Poems*, ed. Grosart, pp. 111, 142), "I force it not a beane," "I force not a pinne"; Thomas Campion, *Fourth Book of Ayres*, 1617, No. 12, "Easely could I then obtaine What now in vaine I force."

116. 2 (No. 115) *No ioy Comparable, &c.* In *C–I* (sigs. K3 in *C*, K4^{v}–L in

D, K–K^{v} in *E*, I4^{v}–K in *F–I*), and assigned in each to Candish. Reprinted in Farr's *Select Poetry*, II, 308 f. On the stanza-form see 17.2 n.

116. 7 *beares him here in vewe.* The *him* is the spirit ("the carefull ghost") which the body bears in view, — i. e., which it clothes.

15–16 *The will . . . fleshly foe.* Cf. Matthew xxvi. 41, "The spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak."

19 *Esteeming showes of fickell fancies knowen.* Putting a high value on things that are known to be caused only by fickle desire.

26 *Both.* A preferable reading would be *But.*

30–32 *This fruite not mine, &c.* Because daily in everyone's eyes I do sin, may God (so that I may revive my soul in Christ) give me (literally *us*) such a conscience as can say, This action is not my own but sin's. Cf. Romans vii. 15–20.

117. 2 (No. 116) *A Complaint.* In *C* only (sigs. K3^{v}–K4). This poem and its sequel, No. 117, form a two-part ballad which was registered for publication on June 23, 1581 (Rollins, *Analytical Index*, No. 595), as "A proper ballad Dialoge wise betwene Troylus and Cressida." Nos. 116 and 117 are reprinted in Hazlitt's *Complete Poems of George Gascoigne*, II, 331–333; but there is no valid reason for attributing them to Gascoigne (cf. pp. lvi f., above). In passing, it may be noted that Hazlitt (II, 323) professes to print these poems from *D* collated with *B*, whereas they occur in *C* only. On the stanza-form see 22.13 n.

The two poems are interesting as showing how inextricably the leprous Cresseid (cf. 92.12) of Robert Henryson's *Testament of Cresseid* was confused with Chaucer's Criseyde. As I have remarked in my article on "The Troilus-Cressida Story from Chaucer to Shakespeare" (*Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XXXII [1917], 413 f.), Cressida says it was not a "gadding moode, but forced strife" that took her from Troy: "if Troilus had only made her his wife, they might have lived happily together. As it is, she asks for pity, not blame; and grieves because Troilus is 'blazing' her 'plague to make it more.' In the *Testament* Troilus is profoundly touched by the resemblance of the leper to Cressid, and almost dies of grief when he discovers that the leper *was* Cressid. Such a production as this ballad, then, keeps to the spirit of neither Henryson nor Chaucer, but the ballad-writer was reflecting the popular idea of the unfortunate woman."

9–10 *Nor Diomede had not vpbrayed, &c.* And Diomedes would not have reproached worthy Troilus with the spoil of Cressid, i. e., would not have spoken tauntingly to him about his conquest of her.

11 *these two worthies had not frayed.* See Chaucer's *Troilus*, v. 1758 ff. (and cf. also v. 1045 f.):

> And ofte tyme, I finde that they mette
> With blody strokes and with wordes grete,
> Assayinge how hir speres weren whette;
> And god it woot, with many a cruel hete
> Gan Troilus upon his helm to-bete.

117. 18 *The Campe where women winne no fame.* Referring to Henryson's *Testament of Cresseid*, where we read (lines 76 f.) that, after Diomedes cast Cressida off,

> Than desolait scho walkit vp and doun,
> And, sum men sayis, into the Court commoun.

24 *the Lepre Ladies skinne.* This phrase was suggested by Henryson's line 474, "Ane Lipper Lady rais, and till hir wend."

118. 15 (No. 117) *A Replye.* In *C* only (sigs. K4–K4^{v}). Cf. the notes on 117.2.

18 *If Troylus would haue vowde his wife.* For Troilus to make Cressida his wife was practically impossible, as Chaucer takes pains to show and as Cressida herself realized. But the ballad-writer did not understand that point.

23 *the Kingly heast.* Priam's command that Cressida be exchanged for Antenor.

24 *rine.* Read *brine.*

31 *By rightfull force to keepe his owne.* Chaucer also explains this point fully. In book iv, stanzas 78 ff., Troilus tells Pandarus why he cannot fight to keep Cressida: Troy has already been ruined because one woman, Helen, has been forcibly retained; furthermore, even to ask Priam to rescind the decree and permit Cressida to stay in Troy would be utterly to blast her reputation. Later on, Troilus admits that he should forcibly have rescued Cressida but for the fear that in the fray she might be killed.

119. 24 *Who bred the bud, &c.* Cressida declares, in effect, that Troilus started her on the path of unchastity, so that for her to live sinfully with Diomedes was a logical consequence.

27 (No. 118) *A description of the world.* In *C–I* (sigs. M^{v}–M2 in *CD*, L–L^{v} in *F–I*, torn out of *E*); attributed to G. G. in *C*, to G. Gask(e) in *DF–I*. By both signatures, without doubt, the name of George Gascoigne is meant. Accordingly, Hazlitt included No. 118 in his edition of Gascoigne's *Complete Poems*, II, 334 f., with the note (cf. above, p. xxxi, n. 4), "Waldron, in his *Literary Museum*, 1789 [really 1792], prints the piece from an edit. [of the *Paradise*] of 1592, with which I am unacquainted"; and Alexander Chalmers (*Works of the English Poets*, II [1810], 462 n.), who followed Waldron in referring the poem to a 1592 *Paradise*, also attributed the authorship to Gascoigne. It is curious that Hazlitt did not know that this poem is made up of six stanzas lifted bodily from Whetstone's *A Remembraunce of the wel imployed life, and godly end of George Gaskoigne Esquire, who deceassed at Stalmford in Lincolne Shire the 7 of October 1577* (reprinted by Chalmers, *loc. cit.*, pp. 457–466, the stanzas in question being within quotation-marks on pp. 462 f.). Undoubtedly Whetstone was the author. Cf. p. lvi, above.

The following variations occur in Whetstone's poem (*Y*):

119. 31 lothsome bayre] toothsome baight
120. 4 doe blinde . . . eyes] the judges eyes doo blinde

120. 15 thou shalt] the shall
16 haute] huge: Okes] Dkes (?)
17 weedes] reeds: weather] wethers
24 Whoso] Whose: long] longer
25 vpon] unto
30 time] living

The first four stanzas of No. 118 are reprinted in Farr's *Select Poetry*, II, 307. On the stanza-form see 17. 2 n.

119. 31 *bayre*. Read *bait*, with *Y* above and *DF*+.

120. 4 *eyes*. Read *eyen* (with *DF*+) for the sake of rhyme. Observe also the reading given above from *Y*.

9 *Conceaude in sinne*. Cf. Psalms li. 5.

16 *haute hie Okes*. I. e., haught (= haughty) high oaks, though in all later editions it is changed to *haughty oaks*. On the figure compare 87.29 n.

22 *The Collyers Cut, &c*. Melbancke's *Philotimus*, Ee^{v} (cf. 16. 6–8 n.), combines this line with 8. 4: "My Courtiers steede had not bene turned to a Colliers cut, nor passed welth to present wante."

27 *the lofty towers*. A commonplace, like that at 55.30–32. Cf. 87.29 n.

30 *time is*. Bad rhyme (which I cannot amend) and bad rhythm.

121. 2 (No. 119) *Being in Loue, he complaineth*. In *C* only (sig. M2). On the stanza-form see 17.2 n, on the title 80.28n.

4 *My feare to find, where, &c*. My fear that I shall not find a place where, etc.

11 *Desyre a new, &c*. After this line an entire line was omitted by the original printer. With *a new* compare 129.10n.

18 *cannot I, nor loue will me forsake*. I cannot forsake love, and love will not forsake me.

21 (No. 120) *An Epitaph vpon . . . syr William Drury, &c*. In *C* only (sigs. M3–M4). On the stanza-form see 17.2 n. Born in 1527, Drury had a distinguished military career. In 1544 he served in the joint armies of Henry VIII and Charles V in France; in May, 1573, he besieged and captured Edinburgh Castle (cf. 123.12); at the time of his death (about October 13, 1579, according to the *D. N. B.*) he was Marshal of Berwick and Lord Justice to the Council in Ireland. He was buried in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin. "An epitaphe on Sir William Drury," registered for publication on April 11, 1580 (Rollins, *Analytical Index*, No. 737), was probably the present production by Barnabe Rich. There is an account of "The Roed made by Syr William Druery, Knight, into Skotland" in *The Firste Parte of Churchyardes Chippes*, 1575 (Collier's reprint, pp. 86 ff.).

27 *There Fooles may prate, &c*. Cf. Hazlitt's *English Proverbs*, pp. 12, 13, "A fool's bolt may sometimes hit the mark," "A fool may give a wise man counsel." A similar idea is expressed in Pope's famous line, "For fools rush in where angels fear to tread."

28 *Why spare I then to speake*. A reference to the well-known pro-

verb. Cf. Skelton, *The Bowge of Courte* (*Poetical Works*, ed. Dyce, I [1856], 40), "Who spareth to speke, in fayth he spareth to spede"; Drayton, "To Prouerbe" (*Idea*, 1602, sonnet 58, *Minor Poems*, ed. Brett, p. 45), "That spares to speake, doth spare to speed"; William Rowley, *A Search for Money*, 1609, p. 24 (ed. Percy Society, vol. II, 1840), "remembring the proverbe (spare to speake, and spare to speed)." See also Draxe, 1616, pp. 366, 415; Hazlitt's *English Proverbs*, p. 355; and the numerous examples cited in the *Handful*, p. 89, and the *Gorgeous Gallery*, p. 155.

122. 15 *with weapons traylde on ground.* Military etiquette at funerals, which Rich, himself an army officer, naturally referred to.

26 *He liueth he.* The pronoun is repeated for emphasis, a construction more common with *I* (cf. 76. 30 n.) than *he*.

123. 7 *Charles of Rome, and Henrie King of Fraunce.* Charles V (1500–1558), Holy Roman Emperor, and Henri III (1551–1589).

12 *Mayden tower.* Edinburgh Castle. See the note on 121. 21.

13 *perforce.* This word evidently means "in spite of," a meaning not given in the *N. E. D.*

15 *Thy luck is losse.* See the discussion on pp. lvi f., above.

124. 8 *Viuit post funæra virtus.* These words occur at the end of John Higgins's legend of Sir Nicholas Burdet, 1587, in the *Mirror for Magistrates* (ed. Haslewood, II [1815], 440), and are signed to Whetstone's *A Remembraunce of the wel imployed life, and godly end of George Gaskoigne* (cf. 119.27 n.) and to his *Epitaphe on Robert Wingfield* (*The Rock of Regard*, 1576, Collier's reprint, p. 235). They also appear in *A poore Knight his Pallace of priuate pleasures*, 1579, L^{v}; they form the motto of the Irish earls of Shannon; and in the phrase "Vivet tamen post funera virtus" they were used on the device of the Elizabethan printer John Day (McKerrow's *Printers' & Publishers' Devices*, 1913, no. 128).

127. 1 *The Paradise of daintie deuises.* For the form of the headline see 99.1 n.

2 (No. 121) *Golden precepts.* In *D–I* (sigs. D–D^{v} in *D*, C4–C4^{v} in *E*, C3^{v}–C4 in *F–I*); unsigned in *DE*, attributed to Arthur Bourcher (Bourchier) in *F–I*. The poem is reprinted in Farr's *Select Poetry*, II, 297 f. (with lines 27–30 omitted). Like No. 110, which it resembles in phraseology, it borrows considerably from themes in Cato's distichs.

5 *the blinde doe go, &c.* Cf. Chaucer, *Troilus*, i. 628 f., "I have myself eek seyn a blind man go Ther-as he fel that coude loke wyde"; a ditty entitled "A Comfort vnto him that is blynde," *ca.*1575 (Rollins, *Old English Ballads*, p. 320), "Then blynd doth se as well as he that hath most perfecte eyes to se"; Philip Stubbes, *The Anatomy of Abuses*, pt. II, 1583 (ed. Furnivall, p. 53, New Shakspere Society), "*forte luscus capiat leporem* somtime by chance a blind man may catch a hare"; Porter, *The Two Angry Women of Abingdon*, 1599, H4 (*Tudor Facsimile Texts*), "for a blinde man may kill a Hare"; William Haughton, *Englishmen for my Money*, 1616, D2^{v}, "yet some-

times the blinde may katch a Hare"; John Taylor, the Water Poet, *Works*, 1630 (Spenser Society reprint, p. 201), "A blind man may (by fortune) catch a Hare."

127. 9 *A Whetstone cannot cut, &c.* Undoubtedly (cf. line 5) borrowed from Chaucer's *Troilus*, i. 631 f., "A whetston is no kerving instrument, And yet it maketh sharpe kerving-tolis." Cf. also Roger Ascham, *Toxophilus*, 1545, p. 9 (*Whole Works*, ed. Giles, II [1864]), "the same man, peradventure, will marvel how a whetstone, which is blunt, can make the edge of a knife sharp"; John Wytton, in commendatory verses prefixed to Whetstone's *Rock of Regard*, 1576 (Collier's reprint, p. xiii),

> Though Whetston be no carving toole, yet vertue hath it such
> As will the durest metalls sharpe, though they be dulled much;
> And sure the author of this worke, whom wee do Whetston call,
> To prove his nature, hits his name, to edge blunt wittes withall;

Lyly, *Euphues*, 1579 (*Works*, ed. Bond, I, 196), "the finest edge is made with the blunt whetstone"; Hazlitt, *English Proverbs*, p. 40, "A whetstone though it can't itself cut, makes tools cut."

13 *looke to honest thrift.* Cf. Cato's precepts cited at 15. 16 n.

14 *that bed be thought a graue.* This is the motif of Churchyard's "Verses Fitte for Euery One to Knowe and Confesse" (reprinted from his *Wonders of the Air*, 1602, in Farr's *Select Poetry*, II, 403–405). Compare these lines:

> The bed presents the graue:
> In shrowding sheetes we lie. . . .
> Then liue as thou shouldst die,
> When God shall please to stricke:
> The graue whereon our bodies lie,
> And bed, are both alike.

A similar passage appears in Clark's *Shirburn Ballads, 1585–1616*, p. 150:

> The softned bed whereon thow lyest
> doth represent the place to thee,
> Wherein the carrion corps at last,
> by course of kinde, interd shall be.

See, further, "A Christian's nightly Care" in the *Roxburghe Ballads*, III, 188.

19 *Ere thou doest promise make, consider well the ende.* Cf. 17.2 n., 25.17 n., and Cato's precept, "Jusjurandum serva."

23 *Forget no freendships debt.* Cf. Cato's precept, "Beneficii accepti memor esto."

34 *Inough sufficeth for a feast.* Proverbial. Cf. Heywood, *Works*, 1562, p. 159, "As good ynough as a feast"; W. Wager, *A Comedy or Enterlude intitled Inough is as good as a feast, ca.*1565 (ed. De Ricci, 1920); Wilson, *The Arte of Rhetorique*, 1560 (ed. Mair, p. 119), "Enough is as good as a feast"; Gascoigne, *Supposes*, 1566, IV. iii (*Complete Poems*, ed. Hazlitt, II, 234),

"enough were as good as a feast"; *Tom Tyler and his Wife*, 1661 ed. (Malone Society reprint, line 658), "Enough is enough, as good as a feast"; Camden's *Proverbs*, 1614, pp. 321, 336; Draxe, 1616, pp. 373, 396; Sir John Vanbrugh, *The Relapse*, 1697, v. v, "O, enough's as good as a Feast."

128. 5 (No. 122) *In prayse of the Snayle.* In *D–I* (sigs. D^{v}–D2 in *D*, C4^{v}–D in *E*, C4–C4^{v} in *F–I*), and in each anonymous.

9 *for rule.* For conduct; i. e., as his habitual method of life.

10 *Leape not before thou looke.* Cf. 93.30 n.

11 *Sayle.* Read *snail*, with *E*+.

17 *duke Fabe.* I. e., Quintus Fabius Maximus Verrucosus (†203 B.C.), who in the Second Punic War against Hannibal won the nickname of "Cunctator" because of his purposely dilatory tactics, which have become proverbial as "Fabian policy."

21 *Saue enuies frets, &c.* Except for the fretting of those who envy you, there are few who shall harm you, no matter how much the envious may fume.

27 *the salue from thee ensues, &c.* In his *Natural History*, xxx. 43, Pliny gives many medicinal uses for the snail, especially to cure female complaints. He also says that snails are valuable as cosmetics and as ointments for an irritated skin. *Crased sore* was a favorite expression of the Elizabethans: *sore* is an adverb, and the phrase means those who are very infirm or sorely injured.

29 *I weare thee still.* I. e., as my device (as in a shield or coat of arms).

129. 2 (No. 123) *A young Gentleman, &c.* In *D–I* (sigs. K4–K4^{v} in *D*, I4^{v}–K in *E*, I4–I4^{v} in *F–I*), and in each anonymous. On the stanza-form see 22.13 n. With the subject-matter of this poem one should compare the strictures on travelling in Lyly's *Euphues and his England*, 1580 (*Works*, ed. Bond, II, 25 f.): "The Trauailer that stragleth from his own countrey, is in short tyme transformed into so monstrous a shape, that hee is faine to alter his mansion with his manners, and to liue where he canne, not where he would . . . he that leaueth his own home, is worthy no home." Euphues himself, however, admits that travelling is not "ill if it be vsed wel," just as Horace (*Epistles*, I. xi. 27 ff.) had declared,

> Cœlum, non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt.
> Strenua nos exercet inertia, navibus atque
> Quadrigis petimus bene vivere; quod petis hic est.

So in "Self-Reliance" Emerson remarks that "the soul is no traveller; the wise man stays at home," a sentiment that is reflected in several of Clough's poems.

7 *Who seekes, &c.* This line appears in *D* only; in all other editions line 5 is mistakenly repeated here.

10 *anewe.* Read *a new*, with *EHI*. Cf. 121.11 n.

130. 2 *Iason.* Cf. 91.30 n.

3 *wandring Prince.* A rather ambiguous reference to Paris (cf. line 5).

8 *The worthies nyne.* The Nine Worthies usually included three pagans — Hector, Alexander, Cæsar; three Jews — Joshua, David, Judas Maccabæus; and three Christians — Godfrey of Bouillon, Arthur, Charlemagne. But the names sometimes varied. Thus, near the end of *Love's Labour's Lost* Shakespeare introduces Pompey as "Worthy."

10 *Carpet knightes.* Cf. 46.24 n.; Gifford, *A Posie of Gilloflowers*, 1580, K3 (*Complete Poems*, ed. Grosart, p. 85), "Yee curious Carpet knights, that spende the time in sport & play"; Patrick Hannay, *A Happy Husband*, 1619 (2d ed., 1622, *Works*, ed. Hunterian Club, p. 174),

> A *Carpet Knight*, who makes it his chiefe *care*,
> To tricke him neatly vp, and doth not spare
> (Though sparing) precious time for to deuoure,
> (Consulting with his glasse).

15 (No. 124) *A wittie and pleasaunt consaite.* In *D–I* (sigs. M2–M2^{v} in *D*, L^{v} in *F–I*, torn out of *E*), and assigned in *DF–I* to Jasper Heywood.

26 *finde.* The reading of *HI*, *finds*, would be preferable.

131. 2 *reeles to woe.* The figure of reeling and spinning would be improved by the reading *reels by woe*, as in *F*+.

3 *roling.* One might expect *reeling.*

5 *bringes.* Metre requires (and grammar favors) *brings a*, the reading of *F*+.

11 (No. 125) *Maister Edwardes his I may not.* In *D–I* (sigs. M3–M3^{v} in *D*, L2^{v}–L3 in *F–I*, torn out of *E*); not signed, but in *DF–I* the title attributes the poem to Edwards. It is a sequel to No. 6 (p. 9).

24 *her.* Read *his.*

25 *skinne.* The reading should probably be *kinne.* The snake gets a new lease of life in May and can then propagate.

132. 3 *in pleasure barge.* Read *in pleasure's barge.*

7 (No. 126) *The complaint of a sorrowfull Soule.* In *D–I* (sigs. M3^{v}–M4 in *D*, L3–L3^{v} in *F–I*, torn out of *E*), and assigned in *DF–I* to Jasper Heywood.

11 *and end.* Read *an end*, with *F*+.

17 *As haue in one by sound aduise, &c.* Perhaps for *one* and *by* the reading should be *me* and *thy* (= God's).

24 *doth bragge me downe.* Perhaps *brag* means "bully," but probably (as the alliteration indicates) the reading should be *drag.*

133. 15 (No. 127) *Alluding his state to the prodigall child.* In *D–I* (sigs. M4–M4^{v} in *D*, L3^{v}–L4 in *F–I*, torn out of *E*), and assigned in *DF–I* to Jasper Heywood. The poem is written in rhyme royal: cf. 45.28 n.

20 *Mate.* Read *May*, with *F*+.

29 *no good hap could seeke to any vse.* No good fortune could arrive at any utility; i. e., could come to any good result in my conduct.

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